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Q. SEPTIMI FLORENTIS TERTULLIANI DE ORATIONE

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TERTULLIANUS.

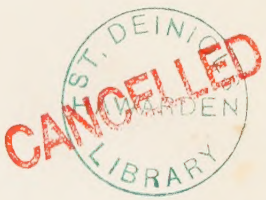
Q. SEPTIMI FLORENTIS TERTULLIANI DE ORATIONE

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

R. WATERVILLE MUNCEY, M.A.

ASSISTANT PRIEST CHRIST CHURCH, ALBANY STREET, N.W.



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PREFACE

TERTULLIAN is not only one of the most renowned, but he is the earliest of all the Latin Fathers, and this priority of date is of even more than usual consequence from the influence which his singular powers exerted on his successors, and which perpetuated certain characteristics through the writers of the African Church for many years after him. He was, by his doctrinal writings, says Dr. Schaff, "the teacher of Cyprian, the predecessor of Augustine, and the chief founder of Latin theology" (*New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, Vol. XI, 305).

The interest of this treatise, and its importance for all time, will hardly be questioned, and it is the earliest extant work upon the subject with which it deals. In preparing this edition of Tertullian *De Oratione*, I have endeavoured to meet the needs of Theological students and those generally interested in Patristic Studies in their study of the most difficult of all Latin prose writers. The text is that of Reifferscheid and Wissowa in *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Vol. XX; Vienna, 1890. Tertullian gives us some interesting information about the Liturgy of the North African Church in his day: I have brought together the most important passages in his writings in the chapter dealing with the Liturgy of the North African Church, appended at the end of this treatise.

It remains to express my thanks to Drs. T. H. Bindley and A. J. Mason, and Mr. H. V. Waterfield, for the kind help they have rendered.

R. W. M.

LONDON,
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INTRODUCTION

I. Tertullian's Life

Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus was born about A.D. 160 at Carthage. He was of heathen parentage,[1] and his conversion to Christianity took place probably about A.D. 196, and a few years later he was admitted to the Priesthood. His father was in the service of the Proconsul at Carthage. St. Jerome[2] in his account of Tertullian tells us that he was a presbyter of the Church, but he does not tell us of what Church. It is indeed certain, that in one treatise[3] Tertullian speaks of himself as one of the presbyters who were engaged in Church government and preaching. But he had written this book when a Montanist; and the case might well be, that he had been chosen for the presbyter of the schismatic Montanist Church at Carthage, Optatus (*Ad Parmenianum*, I) and the author of the work *De Hæresibus*, which Sirmond edited under the title *Prædestinatus*, especially calls him a Carthaginian presbyter. Semler, on the other hand, in a dissertation inserted in his edition of Tertullian's works (Chapter 2), contends that he was a presbyter of the Roman Church. It may be well to note that our author displays a knowledge of the proceedings of the Roman Church with respect to Marcion and Valentinus[4] who were once members of it. The greater part of his life seems to have been spent at Carthage, for although he mentioned incidentally his

[1] *De Pœnitentia*, I: "Pœnitentiam hoc genus hominum, quod et ipsi retro fuimus cæci, sine Domini lumine natura tenus norunt." Compare also passage in *De Fug. in Persecut.*, VI; *Adv. Marc.*, III, 21; *Apol.*, XVIII.

[2] *Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum.*

[3] *De Anim.*, IX.

[4] *De Præscript. Hæret.*, XXX.

having been at Rome,[1] the chief allusions in his writings are Carthaginian.[2] Previous to his conversion to Christianity, Tertullian had been a lawyer and a pleader, as we are reminded in many a page of his writings, where the man of letters is overridden by the man of codes and arguments, and a lawyer he remained. He received a first-rate education both in Greek and Latin, and a study of his writings certainly shows that he had a sound knowledge of Classical Authors.[3] So great indeed was his reputation for genius and learning that notwithstanding his secession from the Church, succeeding ecclesiastical writers always speak of him with high respect. Tertullian was the founder of Latin Christianity, for to him we owe the first formulation of the Doctrine of the Trinity; to him we owe a great part of the Christian vocabulary. The following words are first used by Tertullian (in a theological sense): Trinitas: *Adu. Prax.*, III, he asserts that the Son is "unius substantiæ" with the Father, *Adu. Prax.*, II, "tres personæ," *Adu. Prax.*, VII, XII, "satisfactio," *de Pœnit.*, VIII, IX, the term "Sacramentum Baptismati et Eucharistiæ," *Adu. Marc.* IV, 30. The word "ordo" as applied to various distinctions of the clergy is first found in Tertullian, *De Exhort. Cast.*, VII: "Differentiam inter ordinem et plebem constituit clericæ auctoritas ordo ecclesiasticus."

Tertullian became a Montanist. His fall is ascribed by S. Jerome (*De Vir. Illust.*, LIII) to jealousy and slight with which he met at the hands of the Roman clergy, but although it is very possible that Tertullian may have been treated by them in a manner which exasperated his impatient temper,[4] the assigned motive has been generally discredited, and is indeed needless in order to

[1] *De Cult. Fem.*, I, 7; "Geminarum quoque nobilitatem uidimus Romæ."

[2] See *De Pall.*, I; *Apol.*, IX, XLV (fin.); *Ad. Scap.*, III; *Ad Uxor.*, I, 6; *De Præscript. Hæret.*, XXXVI; *Adu. Marc.*, IV, 5; *De Resurr. Carn.*, XLV; *Scorp.*, VI.

[3] E.g., for Virgil see: *Apology*, VII; *De Spect.*, IX. Pliny: *Ep. ad Traj. Apol.*, XLII. Pliny: *Ep.*, XII; *De Coron. Milit.*, VII. Euripides: *Apology*, XIV. Herodotus: *Apology*, XXV; *De Orat.*, XVII.

[4] *De Patient.*, I: "Ita Miserrimus ego, semper æger caloribus impatientiæ."

account for his having joined a party whose opinions and practice accorded so well with his natural bent. Montanus was a Phrygian, an ex-priest of Cybele. About A.D. 157 Montanus, with the prophetesses Prisca and Maximilla, claimed to be the organs of the Paraclete. Their ideal was to dissociate the Church from the World, and to form a community of true saints who should reject all secular ties and await the near approach of the Second Advent.

The account given by Epiphanius of the Montanists[1] is that they received both the Old and New Testaments, believed in the resurrection of the dead, and maintained the Catholic Doctrine of the Trinity. Their error consisted in supposing that Montanus, Prisca, and Maximilla were divinely inspired; and maintaining that the recognition of the Charismata, or spiritual gifts, announced by Montanus, was of absolute necessity. The "new prophecy" soon found adherents active in Phrygia in Asia Minor, Thrace, Rome, Gaul and Africa.

Tertullian embraced the Doctrine of the Montanists in its full vigour; although he himself was, or had been married, he is violent against matrimony; to marry two wives in succession he regards as no less an offence than marriage with two at once; he would exclude bigamists from the Church, without hope of reconciliation, although he does not deny that God may possibly accept their sincere repentance.[2] His views as to penance are of the severest kind; he denies that the Church can remit deadly sin after baptism, but asserts the power of absolution for the prophets of his own sect.[3] He altogether condemns military service, as inconsistent with Christian duty and inseparably mixed up with heathen observances.[4] He regards flight in time of danger as a sin

[1] *Hær.*, XXVIII or XLVIII. [2] *De Monogam.*, XV; *De Pudicit.*, I.

[3] In the *De Pœnit.*, VII, VIII, IX. Tertullian expressly asserts that all crimes without exception committed after baptism may once, but he alludes to a change in his sentiments, and in Ch. V denies that only once, be pardoned by the Church upon repentance; in the *Pudicit.*, I, adulterers, as well as idolaters and murderers, can ever be reconciled to the Church. See also Ch. XXI.

[4] *De Coron. Milit.*, XI.

worse than the abjuration of Christ in the midst of tortures, and thinks that a Christian ought even to provoke persecution.[1] Although Tertullian seems bitter in his tone towards the Communion which he had forsaken, yet he did not, like too many in similar circumstances, devote himself exclusively to the work of injuring it. He continued to be the Champion of the Gospel against paganism and Judaism; in treatises against Marcion, Valentinus, Hermogenes, Praxeas, and other parties he maintained the common cause of his sect and of the Church.

The age of his death is uncertain; he is said to have lived to a very advanced age.[2]

2. Date and Occasion of the "De Oratione"

This treatise is the earliest extant exposition of the Lord's Prayer, and is therefore of the highest value both to the historian of Christian doctrine and to the student of Christian antiquities.

The two Evangelists who record the Prayer connect it with different occasions in our Lord's ministry. St. Matthew represents our Lord as Himself of His own accord teaching this form of prayer to His Disciples in the audience of the crowds (Matt. vi. 9 f.).

St. Luke tells us that the Lord gave it to His Disciples privately in answer to the request of one of them, "Lord, teach us to pray, even as John also taught his Disciples."[3]

The importance of prayer as a means of spiritual growth is everywhere insisted on by Christian writers. In the Didache the Lord's Prayer holds a prominent position. "Pray ye not, it is said (Ch. viii), as the hypocrites, but as the Lord commanded in His Gospel, so pray ye." The Lord's Prayer is then given in the fuller form recorded by St. Matthew, with two variations

[1] *De Fuga in Persecutione.* Another treatise, the *Scorpiace*, is directed against the gnostic disparagement and evasion of Martyrdom.

[2] *Hier. de Vir. Illust.*, liii.

[3] Chase, in *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church*, I, 3. p. 11 (Camb., 1891) says, "Apart from general questions, there seems in this case to be nothing essentially improbable in the repetition of the same form."

of text and with the addition of a doxology. The direction is appended, "Thrice a day in this way pray ye." This last direction connects the Lord's Prayer with the Jewish hours of prayer, morning, afternoon, and evening; hours which were observed by religious Jews in private and, at least on certain days, in the public worship of the Synagogue.[1]

That the Apostles kept the hours of prayer we know from the Acts (iii. 1, x. 9). Moreover, the Didache (Ch. x) preserves to us a remarkable Eucharistic formula which is clearly connected with certain clauses of the Lord's Prayer.

This reference to the Lord's Prayer implies that it had been itself for some time an essential part of the Church's liturgy.

The *De Oratione* was written for the catechumens[2] who needed instruction upon the meaning and methods of prayer. The work clearly belongs to the Catholic period of Tertullian's life, and may be classed with the *De Pœnitentia* and *De Baptismo*. We may place the date of the *De Oratione* at A.D. 200–206.[3] In Tertullian's time, Septimius Severus had forbidden conversion to Christianity and formal arrangements for the preparation of converts would have been direct rebellion. The persecution compelled to secrecy, and Tertullian gives us the earliest information of any system of secrecy.[4] The importance which Tertullian attached to the previous probation of candidates for Baptism appears from the fact that he founds upon the neglect of it one of his

[1] "Thus the regular Synagogue services would gradually come, first, on Sabbaths and on feast or fast days, then on ordinary days, at the same hours as with a sort of internal correspondence to the worship of the Temple. The services on Mondays and Thursdays were special, these being the ordinary market-days, when the country people came into the towns. . . . Accordingly, Monday and Thursday were called 'the days of Congregation' or Synagogue" (Edersheim, *Life and Times*, I, p. 432).

[2] *De Orat.*, I: "Consideremus itaque benedicti."

[3] Bardenhewer, *Altkirchl.*, Lit. II, 370, and d'Alès, *La Théol. de Tert.* Harnack, *Chronologie*, II, p. 295, puts it between 198 and 202–3, and inclines to put it after rather than before the *De Baptismo*.

[4] *Apol.*, VII: "Omnibus mysteriis silentii fides adhibetur."

charges against the heretics.[1] Suicer divides the catechumens into two classes, one called "audientes," who had only entered upon this course and begun to hear the Word of God; the other συναιτοῦντες, or "competentes," who had made such advances in Christian knowledge and practice as to be qualified to appear at the font (see Suicer, *Thesaur.*, Vol. II, p. 72).

In the *De Pœnitentia*, VI, Tertullian speaks of the "auditorum tyrocinia," and applies the title "nouitioli" to the catechumens.

In the *De Idololatria*, XXIV, we find the following distinction: "Haec accedentibus et fidem proponenda, et ingredientibus in fidem inculcanda est," and the following in the *De Spectaculis*, I: "Cognoscite, qui quum maxime ad Deum acceditis, recognoscite qui iam accessisse nos testificati et confessi estis" when the catechumens had given full proof of the ripeness of their knowledge and of the stedfastness of their faith, they were baptized, allowed to receive the Sacrament of Holy Communion, and were styled "fideles."

Sometimes, however, the word *fidelis* included the catechumens. Thus, in the *De Coron. Milit.*, II: "Neminem dico fidelium coronam capite nosse alius, extra tempus tentationis eiusmodi. Omnes ita obseruant a Catechumenis usque ad Confessores et Martyres, uel negatores."

In the *De Præscript. Hæret.*, XIV, our author distinguishes between "doctores" and "quærentes": "Est utique frater aliquis doctor, gratia scientiæ donatus: est aliquis inter exercitatos conversatus; aliquis tecum, curiosius tamen, quærens."

Tertullian's account of the preparation for Baptism exhibits an intermediate stage between Justin and Origen, but we must remember these witnesses are from different parts of the Church.

Origen's account of the Catechumenate gives all the

[1] *De Præscript. Hæret.*, XLI: "imprimis quis Catechumenus, quis Fidelis incertum est: pariter adeunt, pariter audiunt, pariter orant." And again: "ante sunt perfecti Catechumeni quam edocti."

essential features of the institution, when it was fully established after the persecution had ceased.[1]

3. Analysis of the "De Oratione"

The treatise may be divided into three parts:

(1) Ch. I. The general introduction. Chs. II–IX contain an exposition of the Lord's Prayer.

(2) Chs. X–XXVIII. He points out several customs of his day, and prescribes rules for prayers in general.

(3) Ch. XXIX ends with a moving description of the power and efficacy of prayer.

1. *Chs.* I–IX. *General Introduction and Exposition of the Lord's Prayer*

(i) Tertullian begins by asserting that Jesus Christ our Lord, God's Spirit, the Word and the Reason of God, has ordained for us a new form of Prayer.

This new form of Prayer has been framed by Christ out of three things: the Word, by which it is expressed; the Spirit, by which alone it has power; and the Reason, by which it is conceived.

John's form of Prayer has not been preserved; John the Baptist's work was that of a forerunner, and was at once superseded and completed by the Lord Christ. We have no record of the words which John taught them to pray, simply because earthly things have given way to spiritual things.

He then points out to the catechumens: "Consideremus itaque benediciti"; the heavenly wisdom of the teaching given by Jesus upon prayer.

With Matthew vi. 6–13 in his mind, he singles out three features of this instruction.

(1) The demand for privacy in prayer is a special demand for faith in God who can see even in secret places.

[1] There is a good article on the Catechumenate by Ferdinand Cohrs in Schaff Herzog: *Encyclopedia*, Vol. II, p. 449. See also Bingham: *Christian Antiquities*, Vol. III, Bk. 10, p. 270, and Suicer: *Thesaur.*, Vol. II, p. 72.

(2) A modest faith is demanded by the prohibition of much speaking (agmen uerborum).

(3) Thirdly, and this applies specially to the Lord's Prayer as an example of what prayer ought to be—fewness of words is accompanied by pregnancy of meaning (quartumque substringitur uerbis tantum diffunditur sensibus).

In the Lord's Prayer, short as it is, we find an epitome (breuiarium), or compendium of belief, of the whole Gospel.

(ii) The opening words, "Father who art in Heaven," are themselves an act of Faith; they reveal our belief in God and also the reward of Faith in being able to address God as Father. He then quotes from St. John i. 12.

The allusion to "obeying an order" of God, as we utter the prayer, is significant. Here Tertullian brings in one of his favourite ideas, one which recurs throughout the interpretation of the following petitions. For him Christianity moves under the "præcepta" of God. Faith, in the discipline of the Gospel, is new and living and spiritual; Tertullian is never tired of urging this. He then proceeds to extend the range of belief implied in "Father who art in heaven." "In calling Him Father, we also designate Him as God; it is a title boasting affection and of authority (et pietatis et potestatis).

In calling on the Father, we are calling upon the Son, for He says, "I and the Father are one" (John x. 30). The term Father and Son imply a Mother (de qua constat et patris et filii nomen).

(iii) "The name of God the Father had been revealed to no one." Moses had been told a different name: "It has been revealed to us in the Son."

His name is "hallowed" by Himself, though we have to bless Him (sanctificare=benedicere) everywhere for His benefits.

Tertullian finds two further lessons in the petition. We are to glorify God in Heaven—here is an allusion to the Tersanctus (Rev. iv. 8). Here again we are intended

to obey and adore God, viz. the command to pray for all, even for our enemies (Matt. v. 44).

(iv) We here notice the reverse in the order of the petitions: "Thy will be done in Heaven, and in earth" before "Thy Kingdom come." Tertullian observes, that figuratively, we as (spirit and flesh) are the heaven and earth of which Jesus spoke. That is, inwardly and outwardly, we must do His Will. We pray for the realisation of His Will in ourselves, because we need the strength of His Will to carry out His Will. The point of the petition is that we set ourselves to do and bear the Father's Will, as the heavenly Lord Himself showed us when on earth He preached, laboured, and endured.

The thought of suffering leads Tertullian to point out that we must commit ourselves to His Will patiently, as our Lord Himself did in Gethsemane. "Nevertheless, not my will, but Thy will be done" (Luke xxii. 42) was a prayer intended to show what true patience is.

(v) "Thy Kingdom come": Tertullian finds in the petition a timely warning for Christians who prayed that the end of the world might be deferred. He takes the words in their original and directly eschatological sense and pointing out how illogical it is for members of the Church, with such words on their lips, to desire any delay of the last consummation (optamus maturius regnare et non diutius seruire).

(vi) "How beautifully the Divine Wisdom has arranged the order of the prayer, so that after things heavenly, that is, God's Name, God's Will, God's kingdom, room should be found for earthly requirements in the petition, 'Give us this day our daily bread.'" Tertullian gives a mystical interpretation, and subjoins an allusion to the Eucharist: Christ said of the bread, "This is My body" (Luke xxii. 19); "so that in asking our daily bread we are praying to be continually in Christ and never divided from His Body."

See further on Tertullian's views on the Eucharist. Note on "Hoc est Meum Corpus" (Cap. v).

(vii) After God's bounty we must pray for His mercy,

that our debts may be forgiven us. " To pray for pardon is to make confession (exomologesis), for he who prays for pardon confesses sin."

Tertullian refers to the parable of the two debtors (Matt. xviii. 21–35) as an explanation of what Jesus meant by saying that we must forgive our debtors if we are to be forgiven our debts.

(viii) In the petition " Lead us not into temptation " we are not praying simply for the pardon, but for the avoidance of sin altogether ; this petition means, " Do not allow us to be led into temptation—this is, of course, by the Tempter." Tertullian's explanation of this difficult phrase thus turns upon the assumption that the Tempter is the devil, and that God merely allows him, for certain reasons, to tempt certain people. He warmly repudiates the suggestion that God Himself tempts anybody.

God did not tempt Abraham, He simply wished to prove his faith when He ordered him to offer up Isaac. It was the devil who tempted our Lord, and for Tertullian that is decisive.

He then quotes the counsel of the Lord to the Disciples in Gethsemane, " Pray lest ye be tempted " (Matt. xxvi. 46), and points out that they were tempted because they slept instead of praying. Satan is the " præsides et artifex " of temptation ; to fail in prayer is to desert the Lord, and thus to fall into the power of the Tempter.

Then he concludes by observing that this is borne out by the last clause of the petition : " but deliver us from the Evil One " (sed deuehe nos a malo).

(ix) Tertullian sums up the rich suggestiveness of the Lord's Prayer as a brief summary of duty and devotion. This is his predominant interest, to show how the Lord's Prayer implies the full extent of Christian belief. Belief, for Tertullian, was instinct with duty, so that his dogmatic prepossession did not interfere with the practical aim of his expectation, " God alone could teach how He wished prayer to be addressed to Him."

(x) Our Lord having given the " legitima oratio "

thinks of the human needs, and permits petitions about the individual Christian's special desires according to his circumstances.

2. Chs. x–xxviii. *Rules for Prayer in general, and Customs which prevailed in Tertullian's day.*

(xi) We are to approach God's altar in the spirit of true forgiveness towards our brother: "For what sort of behaviour is it to approach the peace of God without peace in one's heart! To ask forgiveness of debts when we withhold forgiveness ourselves! How will he who is angry with his brother appease his Father, seeing that all wrath has from the beginning been forbidden us?" Here, again, is the thought of obedience to a command of God. Then the necessity of daily prayer is enforced.

(xii) "And it is not from anger only, but from every possible clouding of the spirit that the purpose of prayer ought to be free, since that purpose proceeds from a spirit like unto the Spirit to which it is directed."

(xiii) There were Christians who were careful enough to wash their hands at every prayer, even when they had just come from the bath, but with spirit befouled! Tertullian explains the reason for this custom, and says, "I found it to be a commemoration of the delivering up of the Lord."

That is, a commemoration of Pilate's having washed his hands, for the delivering up of the Lord—with a safe conscience.

(xiv) Tertullian proceeds to state that "the hands are clean enough, which we have washed once for, with the whole body in Christ": he, of course, is thinking of the washing in Holy Baptism. He then alludes to the practice of raising the hands and spreading them out, modelling them after the Lord's Passion.

(xv) Some, when they prayed, made it a matter of conscience, like the heathen, to lay aside their cloaks: "Matters of this kind belong not to religion, but to superstition."

(xvi) Others, on the other hand, after praying sat

down ; another heathen custom which they adopted on the authority of Hermas, forgetting that it was unseemly to be seated in the presence of God. But Tertullian points out that the words of Hermas, " When I had prayed and set down upon my bed," are put simply in the course of narrative, not as a model of discipline.

(xvii) Prayer is to be offered to God in an orderly and humble attitude : the hands are rather to be raised moderately and fitly. He goes on to prescribe moderation also as regards the tone of the voice, which ought to be subdued. " God is hearer not of the voice, but of the mind, even as He is its discerner."

(xviii) Tertullian now refers to a custom which he says has become " increasingly common." Certain persons object to giving or receiving the kiss of peace in public on a fast day (subtrahunt osculum pacis). This custom he strongly reprehends, not only because the kiss was " signaculum orationis," which was incomplete without it, but because such an omission of the accustomed rite proclaimed the act of fasting in violation of the Lord's injunction (Matt. vi. 17, 18). Tertullian asks, " quale sacrificium est a quo sine pace receditur ? " The same objection did not hold against the revised custom of omitting the kiss on Good Friday, " Die Paschæ -- merito deponimus osculum," because that was an universally acknowledged fast-day.

(xix) Tertullian here refers to the objection which some felt in taking part in the sacrificial prayers (Service of the Eucharist) or vigil days, thinking that the vigil would be broken by the reception of the Body of the Lord. In reply to this, he asks whether the Eucharist destroys the allegiance vowed to God, or rather binds it closer to Him. " Will not," he says, " your vigil days be all the better kept if you have also stood at the altar of God ? By receiving the Body of the Lord and reserving it you will secure both ends—participation in the sacrifice and performance of the obligation.

(xx) The dress of women. Here Tertullian states his unworthiness to treat of such a subject after St. Paul.

Both SS. Peter and Paul forbid with the same voice—the vainglory of apparel—the pride of gold, and the meretricious painstaking with the hair (1 Timothy ii. 9; 1 Peter iii. 3).

(xxi) Tertullian enters upon a long discussion as to whether virgins ought to be veiled or not. He considers that this matter must be received as if it were of doubtful validity, although maintained universally throughout the Churches.

First of all, those who concede to virgins the right to keep their heads unveiled, supposing that the word of St. Paul, "women," did not include virgins. He says that if the Apostle had named the sex, using the word "females," he would clearly have laid down the law with regard to every woman; but when he names one rank of the sex, he distinguishes the other from it by his silence.

(xxii) Tertullian appeals to the authority of the "very earliest literature in holy writings" (Genesis ii. 22, 23); Eve when she had not yet known man was named by God both "woman" and "female," female in virtue of her sex in a general sense, "woman" in virtue of the rank of her sex in a special sense. Since Eve was called by the name "woman," though at that time still unmarried, that name has become applicable to a virgin also. Moreover, the Apostle, who was moved by the same Spirit by which, as all Divine Scripture, so also the Book of Genesis was composed, has used the same word "woman" on account of the instance of Eve unmarried, suitable to an unmarried woman and a virgin.

He proceeds to explain that St. Paul in saying "every woman" leaves out no element in woman, just as he leaves out no element in man, and no aspect of veiling, for he says in like manner, "every man" (1 Cor. xi. 4, 5). "No woman is a virgin from the time that she is marriageable, since the age in her has already married its own husband, namely, time." He goes on to explain that those "who are promised to bridegrooms must be veiled from that day on which they have trembled at their first

contact with a man's body, in the kiss and the right hand."

Tertullian concludes the discussion with the example of Rebecca, who when her bridegroom had been newly pointed out, " veiled herself married by the mere knowledge of him " (Genesis xxiv. 65).

(xxiii) Kneeling in Prayer : Tertullian notes that a few refrained from kneeling on the Saturday.

The rule was in the Early Church for all to kneel in prayer except on Sundays, and between Easter and Whitsuntide.

" But on the Fasts and Stations no prayer must be observed without kneeling, and the other usual modes of humiliation."

Concerning the times of prayer, he says " there is nothing prescribed at all, save simply, to pray always and everywhere " (Luke xviii. 1 ; 1 Timothy ii. 8).

(xxiv) He proceeds to explain that prayer is to be offered " where opportunity, or where necessity, has given occasion." He then refers to Acts xvi. 25, and xxvii. 35.

(xxv) The outward observance of certain hours for prayer which mark the divisions of the day, the third, sixth, and the ninth. He then refers to Acts ii. 5 ; x. 9 ; iii. 1.

We ought to follow the practice of Daniel, being debtors to the three, " Father, Son, and Holy Spirit."

Before meals and bath it is fitting to offer a prayer : " the food of the Spirit must be deemed to come before that of the flesh, since heavenly things come before earthly things."

(xxvi) The propriety of not allowing a Christian brother to quit the home without joining in prayer.

(xxvii) The custom of adding the "Alleluia " at the conclusion of the prayers.

(xxviii) Prayer is stated to be the spiritual sacrifice, by which the ancient sacrifices were superseded.

(xxix) The power and efficacy of Prayer : Old-world prayer was able to free men from fires, and from beasts,

and from famine. How far more operative is Christian prayer! Prayer can call back departing souls from the very pathway of death, recover the weak, heal the sick, cleanse those possessed by devils, open the gates of the prison, loose the bonds of the guiltless. Here Tertullian seems to echo the clauses of a Litany.

Prayer is the wall of faith, his armour, offensive and defensive, against the foe who is lying in wait on every side.

Thus armed, we must guard round the standard of our Captain; we await in prayer the Angel's trump. "What more can I say upon the duty of prayer?" he asks, after a glowing panegyric upon its functions. "Even the Lord Himself prayed to whom be honour and praise for ever and ever!"

4. The Value of Tertullian's Works and Influence on Later Writers

The value of our author's writings consists not so much in his special opinions, as in the light which his works throw upon the history of the Early Church. His acknowledged unsoundness in some particulars will of itself warn us to use a caution which is scarcely less necessary in the study of writers more strictly orthodox.

For we should in all cases consider the position of the Fathers as witnesses and as men. Both their testimony and their opinions are affected by the age in which they lived. The value of the former is manifestly enhanced by proximity to apostolic times. Their opinions derive some weight from the same cause. But in judging of them we must make the proper allowances for the character of the individual and of his age.

The careful study of an ancient author informs us not only of the truths held of old, but of the manner in which they were apprehended. In each of these respects Tertullian is most valuable. His vigorous individuality gives us to see what a primitive Christian was, and how he was impressed with Christian truths.

His varied learning in subjects, whether sacred or

profane, renders his works a rich repository of all that concerns the manners and customs of his age. Most interesting information is supplied by him as to ancient rites, and ancient liturgical forms; while his very errors renders his testimony to doctrinal truths, of which there was no question, the more free from suspicion. Above all, his intimate acquaintance with and constant reference to the Holy Scriptures, give to his words a peculiar value.

St. Jerome, in his *Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*, says of Tertullian: "I saw at Concordia in Italy an old man named Paulus. He said that when going he had met at Rome with an aged amanuensis of the blessed Cyprian, who told him that Cyprian never passed a day without reading some portion of Tertullian's works; and used frequently to say, 'Give me my master,' meaning Tertullian."

The writings of Cyprian are sufficient to prove how deep an influence Tertullian had exercised upon his mind, and a comparison of the titles of their works is significant.

Tertullian.	*Cyprian.*
De Oratione.	De Oratione Dominica.
De Baptismo.	De Gratia Dei.
De Pœnitentia.	De Lapsis.
De Idololatria.	De Idolorum Uarietate.
Aduersus Iudæos.	Testimonia adu. Iudæos.
De Præscriptionibus Hæreticorum.	De Unitate Ecclesiæ.
Ad Martyres.	De Exhortatione Martyrii.
De Patientia.	De Bono Patientia.

Yet the two African teachers are singularly unlike each other. Intellectually Tertullian was an originator, Cyprian a populariser. Tertullian has been called "the father of Latin theology," Cyprian "the father of the hierarchy." Tertullian was vehement, sarcastic, impulsive, defiant; Cyprian was calm, practical, authoritative.

Tertullian was the man of genius, and Cyprian was a

man of talent who borrowed wholesale from his predecessors.

" Cyprian polished the language that Tertullian had made, sifted his thoughts, rounded them off and turned them into current coin " (Hurnack).

St. Hilary of Poitiers (A.D. 354)[1] refers to the *De Oratione* of Tertullian, and St. Vincent of Lérins has vividly described Tertullian's character of mind. *Commonitorium*, Chapter XVIII : " For us Origen holds by far the first place among the Greeks, so also Tertullian among the Latins. For who was more learned than he ? who more versed in knowledge whether Divine or human ? As to his style, who can sufficiently set forth its praise ? It was knit together with so much cogency of argument that it compelled assent, even when it failed to persuade. Every word almost was a sentence, every sentence a victory."

The scheme of Cyprian's *De Oratione Dominica* is borrowed from the *De Oratione* of Tertullian. We find that Cyprian frequently repeats, not only sentiments, but even the words of Tertullian.

I have noted three passages below which illustrate the parallelisms :

The numbers in brackets indicate the chapters.

Tertullian : *De Orat.*	Cyprian : *De Orat. Dom.*
(I) Dei sermo . . . Iesus Christus dominus noster nobis discipulis noui Testamenti nouam orationis formam determinauit.	(XXVIII) Quid mirum . . . si oratio talis est quam Deus docuit qui maiisterio suo omnem precem nostrum salutari sermone breuiauit ?
(IX) Compendiis paucu-lorum uerborum quot attinguntur . . . Quid mirum ? Deus solus docere potuit	Nam cum Dei sermo dominus noster Iesus Christus omnibus uenerit, et colligens doctor pariter

[1] Commentary in St. Matthew (vi. 9–13) : " De orationis autem sacramento necessitate commentandi Cyprianus uir sanctæ memoriæ. Quanquam et Tertullianus hinc uolumen aptissimum scripserit ; sed consequens error hominis detraxit scriptis probabilibus auctoritatem."

quomodo se uellet orari ab ipso igitur ordinata religio orationis. . . .

et indoctos ediderit, præceptorum suorum fecit grande compendium ut in disciplina cœlesti discentium memoria non laboraret.

(II) Dominus . . . præcepit ne quam in terris patrem uocemus nisi quam habemus in cælis. Hoc est quod Israeli exprobratur (=Es. 1, 2) . . . et oblitos patris denotamus.

(IX) Dominus . . . præpacepit ne uocemus nobis patrem in terra quod scilicet nobis unus pater qui est in cœlis.

The following corresponding chapters should be examined :

Tertullian : *De Orat.*	Cyprian : *De Orat. Dom.*
1. Ch. IV.	Chs. XIV, XV, XVI, XVII.
2. Ch. III.	Ch. XII.
3. Ch. VIII.	Ch. XXVII.
4. Ch. XXV.	Chs. XXXIV, XXXV.

Novatian, a contemporary of Cyprian, also borrowed from Tertullian : the parallelism of the titles is noteworthy.

Tertullian.	*Novatian.*
Adu. Prax.	De Trinitate.
De Oratione.	De Oratione.
De Pudicitia.	De Bono Pudicitiæ.
De Spectaculis.	De Spectaculis.
Apologeticus.	Quod Idola Dii non sint.

Lucifer of Cagliari, *Moriendum esse pro Filio Dei*, IV, quotes from the *De Oratione*, I.

It is interesting to note that Isidore of Seville has reproduced passages from Tertullian in his *Origines*, VI (*c.* A.D. 630) :

Tertullian : *De Orat.*	Isidore : *Origines.*
1. Ch. XXIV.	Ch. VI, 19, 59.
2. Ch. XXV.	Ch. VI, 19, 60–64.

Isidore of Seville evidently was acquainted with other works of Tertullian, namely: the Apologeticus—ad Nationes—De Pænitentia—De Corona Militis—De Idololatria—De Spectaculis—De Præscriptione Hæreticorum—Scorpiace—De Baptismo—De Ieiunio—De Monogamia, and De Uirginibus Uelandis. For further study, see Max Klussmann, *Excerpta Tertullianea in Isidori Hispal. Etymol.* (Hambourg, 1892), and A. d'Alès, *La Théologie de Tertullien*, appendice, page 499; *Tertullien devant les Pères*.

5. The Text and Editions

Of the various editions which have appeared of the works of this author, and of the MSS. used by the editors, there is a copious account in the edition of Oehler, 1853, and in the editions of the *Vienna Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat.*, Part I, 1880, and Part III which appeared in 1906. We may here note the following:

Rhenanus was the first editor of the works of Tertullian. His edition was printed at Basle, 1521. He had the use of only two MSS., one of Päterlingen and one of Hirschau, of uncertain age. Of these two MSS. the Päterlingen alone is known to exist. There were reprints of this edition in 1525, 1528, and 1536.

In the year 1539, Rhenanus, with the assistance of Gelenius, published a second edition of Tertullian at Basle. The same works are in this as in the former edition. However, he had the benefit of a new MS. from Gorzia, near Milan.

In 1545, Gangnæus first published at Paris, together with the works previously known, nine fresh treatises of Tertullian. These were: De Testimonio Animæ—De Anima—De Spectaculis—De Baptismo—Scorpiace—De Idololatria—De Pudicitia—De Ieiunio, and De Oratione.

Gelenius in 1550, at Basle, published a complete edition of the works of Tertullian, "revised" (he tells us) "by reference to several MSS. from various parts of Germany and France," but especially to the Codex

Britannicus. There were reprints of this edition at Basle in 1562, and at Paris, 1566.

Pamelius rendered important services to the text of Tertullian. The first edition of his works was published at Antwerp, 1579. He employed especially three MSS. from the Vatican, two from Belgium, and one from England (all of uncertain date).

Pamelius revised the text, and introduced many alterations, some from MSS., but some, as his notes tell us, from conjectures by himself and others. He prefixed a Life of Tertullian, and *Paradoxa Tertulliani cum Antidotis Pamelii*. The Pamelian editions were reprinted at Geneva, at Paris, at Franeker, at Heidelberg, at Cologne, in various forms, up to 1617, the date of the Cologne edition. Rigaltius published an edition of Tertullian at Paris in 1634.

Of modern editions we may notice that commenced by Semler at Halle, in 1769, and completed by Schutz. Semler in general restored the text of the first edition of Rhenanus, but also altered much from conjecture. Schutz followed the same plan.

More important is the edition published at the Migne Press at Paris, in 1844. The editors profess to adopt as their basis the text of Le Prieur (1664), that is of Rigalt, but they apparently adopt frequently the more ancient reading. They note the varieties of reading of various editions in many instances; however, there are many errors. Some notes of Pamelius; La Cerda, Rigaltius and others, accompany the text.

An edition of Tertullian appeared in three volumes, by Fr. Oehler, at Leipzig, 1853. This edition is indispensable to the student. A word of warning is needed in using this edition: the Index is defective, and many of the references given in it I have found to be wrong.

The late Dr. M. J. Routh, who was President of Magdalen College, Oxford, included the De Oratione and the De Præscriptione Hæreticorum in his *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Opuscula* (col. test Vol. I), 1858.

In 1890 Part I of Tertullian appeared in the *Vienna*

Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, under the editorship of A. Reifferscheid and G. Wissowa. It contains the following : De Spectaculis—De Idololatria—Ad Nationes, Libri II—De Testimonio Animæ—Scorpiace—De Oratione—De Baptismo—De Pudicitia—De Ieiunio—De Anima.

The third part of the Vienna edition of Tertullian, edited by Emil Kroymann, appeared in 1906. It contains the following : De Patientia—De Carnis Resurrectione—Aduersus Hermogenem—Aduersus Ualentinianos—Aduersus Omnes Hæreses (not by Tertullian)—Aduersus Praxean—Aduersus Marcionem.

The second and fourth parts, to be edited by E. Kroymann and H. Hoppe, are as yet unpublished.

The only two MSS. extant containing the De Oratione are " Agobardinus " (as far as the beginning of Ch. XXI), and " Ambrosianus " (contains Chs. IX–XXIX). The lost Cod. Britannicus contained the De Oratione.

(1) Cod. Agobardinus : the oldest and most important MS. of Tertullian, on vellum, of the sixteenth century, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Lat. 1622). This MS. is called " Agobardinus " because it was once in the possession of Agobard, Bishop of Lyons (*ob.* 840).

In 1625 the two books *Ad Nationes* were first published at Geneva, by James Gothofred, from this MS.

He first used the MS. and describes it, telling us that it has an inscription : LIBER OBLATUS AD ALTARE SCI STEPHANI EX VOTO AGOBARDI EPI, and that on the first page is an index, HIC SVNT TERTULLIANI, LIB. XXIV ; AD NATIONES, LIBER I, II, etc.

It contains : Ad Nationes, Libri II—De Præsciptione Hæreticorum—Scorpiace—De Testimonio Animæ—De Corona—De Spectaculis—De Idololatria—De Anima—De Oratione—De Cultu Feminarum, Libri II—Ad Uxorem, Libri II—De Exhortatione Castitatis—De Carne Christi (as far as the middle, Ch. X).

The following are lost : De Spe Fidelium—De Paradiso—De Uirginibus—De Carne et Anima—De Patientia—

De Pænitentia—De Animæ Submissione—De Superstitione Sæculi.

(2) Cod. Ambrosianus: of the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh centuries; formerly of the Irish foundation of Bobbio (near the Ticino), in Northern Italy, now at the Ambrosian Library in Milan (G. 58 *sup.*). This MS. contains only the De Oratione (Chs. IX–XXIX), from which L. A. Muratori published, in his *Anecdota* (Vol. III, P.L., p. 1) the conclusion of the treatise, 1713.

For a description of the MS. the Vienna editors refer to Aug. Reifferscheid, *Bibl. Patr., Latin. Ital.* (II, p. 88 *seqq.*).

(3) Cod. Britannicus: Gelenius, in the preparation of his edition, 1550, says that he had the advantage of a "liber longe incorruptissimus cœnobio ultimæ Britanniæ Masburensi petitus" which was lent to him by John Leland, the antiquary. J. M. Lupton, in his edition of *De Baptismo*, thinks that Masburensi may be our Wiltshire Malmesbury (Introd., p. xxxvi). He goes on to say, "Dr. M. R. James tells me that I may consider this conjecture practically certain."

This MS. seems to have contained: De Resurrectione Carnis—De Præsciptione Hæreticorum—De Monogamia—De Testimonio Animæ—De Anima—De Spectaculis—De Baptismo—Scorpiace—De Idololatria—De Pudicitia—De Ieiunio—De Oratione, together with the treatise of Novatian: De Trinitate, and a letter of the same author: De Rebus Iudaicis. Gelenius has not described the MS., so that it cannot now be identified, nor has he told us where he altered the text from MS., and where from conjecture.

6. Style and Latinity

(a) *Tertullian's Style*

Tertullian's style matches his thought—it abounds in outrageous expressions, but is vigorous, emphatic, and eloquent. He puts no restraint either on his feelings or his language, but pours forth his rage and sarcasm. His style has been compared by Balzac to ebony, at once dark and resplendent. The vehemence of his temper and

the strength of his convictions made him intolerant of opposition, and accordingly we find a strong vein of irony running throughout his works, whereby the views of his adversaries are represented as manifestly absurd.

When Tertullian commends Christian patience, and contrasts it with his natural impatientia, and speaks of the difficulty of attaining such a virtue, he gives us an insight into his natural disposition.[1] This is one striking characteristic of his style. Another is the love of paradox, which is traced up by some to his education as a Jurist, but is probably at least as much owing to eager hardihood, which led him to maintain the more resolutely every point assailed or assailable, and to believe with the more earnestness what was called incredible. Probably most readers will recollect hearing of his celebrated argument in the *De Carne Christi*, v: "Non pudet, quia pudendum est—prorsus credibile est, quia inpetum est—certum est quia impossible."

Tertullian makes frequent use of metaphors, which are drawn very often from legal and from military sources, his own profession of the law and his skill in Roman jurisprudence explaining the first circumstance, and his father's the second; he is fond of an antithetical play upon words often to the sacrifice of elegance and clarity of meaning: e.g. *Apol.*, II: ut nolint scire pro certo quod se nescire pro certo sciunt; IV: merito damnantur, licet damnent.

These characteristics of Tertullian should be kept constantly before the mind of the reader, because they influence not only his assertions but his language.

(b) *Tertullian's Latinity*

Tertullian created Latin Christianity. It is to him more than anyone else that the Latin of the Christian authors owes its definitely legalistic tinge, and a considerable portion of his vocabulary became a settled part of Christian terminology.

[1] *De Patient.*, I: "Ita miserrimus ego, semper aeger caloribus impatientiæ."

He is a very difficult author, and his vocabulary is curiously compounded of technical legal language, Græcisms, and archaisms.

Three important points seem to be involved in the study of African Latin, viz. :

(1) The style of the author.

(2) The use of words and singularities of expression peculiar to African Latin require to be distinguished from those which were merely late, and not peculiar to Africa.

(3) Allowance has to be made for the native idiom of North Africa—the available evidence for a study of which—whatever it may have been—is scanty. A satisfactory conclusion to numbers 2 and 3 would certainly require further investigation. However, I trust that the reader may possibly derive advantage from the observations which I have made during my researches.

Tertullian's legal outlook accounts for the frequent employment of legal terms in his writings, e.g. :

Ampliatio : De Orat., VI ; De Bapt., XIII ; De Pænit., VII ; Adu. Ualent., VIII.

indulgentia : De Pænit., VI ; De Exhort. Cast., III ; Adu. Marc., IV, 29.

patrocinari : De Pænit., V ; Adu. Prax., XIV ; De Carn. Christi, XX ; Adu. Marc., V, 7 ; De Test. Anim., I ; Apol., XVIII.

Præscriptio : De Orat., XX ; De Bapt., III, XII.

satisfacere : De Orat., XI, XXIII ; De Bapt., XX ; De Patient, III ; De Pudicit., IX ; De Pænit., V, X.

satisfactio : De Pænit., VIII, IX.

substantia : De Orat., IV ; De Bapt., III, IV, XVIII ; De Pænit., II ; De Anim., XI, XX ; De Pudicit., I ; Adu. Marc., V, 17 ; Apol., XXI, XXII, XXXIX.

Greek was the leading language of the Roman Empire down to A.D. 150 or 200, and many words which had been recognized as foreign were now written in Latin letters. Tertullian's Latin is strongly influenced by the Greek, and we find constructions upon a Greek model, but there

is often a doubt whether the particular expressions are to be set down to his imitation of early writers or to his familiarity with the Greek language.

Archaisms are employed which the reader at first sight imagines must necessarily be the coinage of the writer, but which he perhaps will be able to trace back to the age of Plautus.

I have noted a few such words which I find have been used by Plautus, e.g. : [1]

abscondere :	De Orat.,	XXII.
censere :	,,	VI.
compendium :	,,	IX.
pauculi :	,,	IX.

Compare also agglutinare (figuratively, to be devoted to someone) : De Anim., XXI ; De Pænit., V. Dispuere : De Coron. Milit., I ; De Carn. Chr., VII ; De Pænit., V.

A striking feature of the African writers is their bombastic style, which has even been distinguished by the title " tumor Africanus," and unquestionably it prevails to a greater or less degree—least in Lactantius, greatest in Arnobius—throughout them all. But, like the archaisms, it is no peculiar note of an African ; Ammianus (Roman historian, born *circ.* A.D. 325–330) exceeds all of them in luxuriance of style or inflated language.

See further in H. Hoppe, *Syntax und Stil des Tertullians*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 11. (Chapter on " African Latin.")

The style of Tertullian's ethical treatises, of which the *De Oratione* is a very good example, is smoother and less bombastic than most of his controversial works. The student of Tertullian finds that words are employed which have a variety of meanings according to the context, and it is a task of extreme difficulty at times to

[1] Bishop John Kaye : *Tert. Eccl. Hist.*, p. 34, says : " When I have myself been obliged to consult the dictionaries for the meaning of some strange and portentous word which crossed me in my perusal of Tertullian's works, I have occasionally found that it had been used by Plautus."

know precisely what shade of meaning to assign to a particular word, e.g. :

censeri : De Bapt., VI, XVII ; De Spect., IV, VI ; De Præscript. Hæret., XX ; Apol., XV.

expungere : De Orat., IX ; Ad Martyr, VI ; De Coron. Milit., I ; De Idololat., XIII.

patrocinari : De Pænit., V ; Adu. Prax., XIV ; De Carn. Christi., XX ; De Test. Anim., I ; Apol., XVIII.

repræsentare : Adu. Marc., IV, 6, 9, 12, 22, 23, 24 ; De Patient., III ; De Anim., LVII ; De Pænit., III ; De Monogam., X ; De Bapt., XVI ; Apol., XV, XVI, XVII ; De Idololat., I.

reuoluere : De Bapt., XIV ; De Ieiun., VII ; Adu. Marc., V, 14.

titulus : De Pænit., II ; De Pudicit., I ; Adu. Marc., V, 17 ; De Idololat, I ; Apol., VI.

We find the most extraordinary compounds, like concupiscentiuum : De Anim., XVI ; ethnicalis : De Spect., V ; formulatorius : Ad Nat., II, 14.

And diminutives, such as geniculum : De Coron. Milit., III ; nauicula : De Bapt., XII ; nouitiolus : Apol., XLVII ; paruuli : De Bapt., XVIII ; pauculi : De Orat., IX. In late Latin and especially in the African Latinity diminutives are used in profusion without implying any difference from the original word.

Numerous abstracts in the plural are found in Tertullian, e.g. :

De Pænit., XI : ignobilitates.
De Pudicit., XVII : ebrietates et comersationes.
Adu. Marc., II, 17 : imbecillitates.
De Idololat., I : lasciuiæ et ebrietates.

Several other examples may be found in Hoppe : *Syntax und Stil des Tertullians*, p. 88 *seq.*

Tertullian has greatly increased the number of verbals in -tor and -trix. The cause of these new formations is

due to the desire for shortness of expression and the requirements of concinnity, e.g. :

alleuator : Adu. Marc., IV, 36.
animator : Apol., XLVIII.
circumscriptor : Adu. Marc., II, 7.
corruptor : De Præscript. Hæret., XVII.
illuminator : Adu. Ualent., XV.
peccator : De Orat., XII ; Adu. Marc., II, 10.
defraudatrix : Ieiun., XVI.
dissolutrix : De Anim., XLII.
formulatrix : De Monogam., XVII.

If Tertullian is often difficult and obscure, it is because he had to express the thoughts of a bold, rugged, and turbulent intellect, embittered by antagonism, darkened by self-maceration and passion, and struggling with the perplexities engendered by endless controversies. He well understood the meaning of Christ's saying, that He came not into the world to bring peace, but a sword : in a period when a lax spirit of conformity to the world had seized the Churches, he maintained the " Vigor Evangelicus " not merely against the gnostics but against the opportunists and a worldly-wise clergy. Among all the Fathers of the first three centuries Tertullian has given the most powerful expression to the earnestness of the Gospel.

(c) *Hints on the Grammar in the De Oratione*

1. *Legal Terms*

(1) Substantives :

ampliatio : VI.
expunctor : I.
forma : I, IV.
præscriptio : XX.
pronuntiatio : XXII.
substantia : I, IV.
tutela : IX.
uenia : VII.

(2) Adjective :

legitimus : X.

(3) Verbs :

ampliare : XI, XXII, XXIX.
defendere : XXII.
expungere : I, IX.
peregrini : XXIX.
pronuntiare : IV.
satisfacere : XI, XXIII.

2. *Græcisms*

(1) Greek accusative :

panem pulsabat : VI.

(2) Adverbial Accusative—hoc genus.

subiungere in orationibus Alleluia solent et hoc genus psalmos : XXVII.

(3) Circumstantia = ἀντιπερίστασις

(4) Dative of the Agent or Greek Dative with the Perfect Passive :

quod Danieli quoque legimus obseruatum : XXV.

(5) Words borrowed from the Greek :

abyssus : XVII.
agape : XXVIII.
cathedra : XVI.
exomologesis : VII, IX.
spelunca : XXIX.

3. *Substantives*

Tertullian's list of Verbal Substantives is worthy of notice.

(1) In -tor :

adorator : XXVIII.
amator : XXII.
conspector : XVII.
prospector : X.
pulsator : VI.

(2) In -tia :

abstinentia : XVIII.
substantia : I, IV.

(3) In -mentum :

inquinamentum : XIII

(4) In -io :

ampliatio : VI.
expectatio : XXII.
interpretatio : IV, XXII.
præscriptio : XX.
pronuntiatio : XXII.
repræsentatio : V.
retentio : XI.
statio : XIX, XXIII.

4. *Adjectives and Participles employed as Substantives*

(1) Adjectives : æger—debilis—dæmoniacus—pauper : XXIX.

(2) Present Participles : dolentes—patientes—peregrinantes—persequentes—sentientes—stantes : XXIX.

5. *Pronouns*

(1) Iste = hic.

appellatio ista : II.

(2) Aliquis is prefixed to a proper name :

Aliquis Esaias : XIV.

(3) Huiusmodi is used as a Substantive :

Huiusmodi enim non religioni sed superstitioni deputantur : XV.

6. *Verbs*

(1) The Accusative with the Infinitive is used after uolo when the Subject is the same and the Infinitive is in the Passive :

quomodo se uellet orari : IX.

Efficere is followed by the Accusative with the Infinitive :

uarietas effecit . . . nos . . . retractare : XX.

(2) The Future Perfect is found when the Future

Simple or even the Present Tense might be expected—this is an example of late Latin.

nusquam erit adorandum, nisi ubi fuerit (=erit) lectus : XVI.

(3) Tertullian's list of verbs is worthy of notice :

commendare =probare (" set forth "), commendamus fidem : II.

defendere =uindicare, ulcisci, defenderet sibi adiectionem : XXII.

exponere =ἐκδύειν, deponere, expositis pænulis : XV.

mutare =se mutare, in quibus iam pueritia mutauit : XXII.

superducere =superaddere, superducto euangelio : I.

7. *Adverbs*

(1) Adhuc is used of the past = etiamtum :

angelo adhuc orationis adstante : XVI.

quoniam tunc innupta adhuc Eua . . . fuit : XXII.

(2) Dumtaxat = certe, saltem : XX.

(3) Frequentissime : II, and secrete : I, are rare words.

(4) Retro = olim.

quicquid retro fuerat : I.

et retro plagas irrogabat : XXIX.

8. *Conjunctions*

(1) Nisi occurs frequently : Chs. II, III, XII, XIII, XV, XVI, XVIII, XX, XXII, XXIII, XXVI, XXIX.

It is used after a comparative for quam :

quando magis conferenda . . . pax est, nisi cum . . . oratio . . . ascendit : XVIII.

(2) Quam—quam is found for tam—quam :

usus est mulieris uocare quam feminas, id est γυναῖκας quam θηλείας : XXII.

Quam after a positive, with apparent ellipse of magis or potius :

quia uult eam quam mortem peccatoris : VII.

9. *Prepositions*

(1) de :

Tertullian's use of the preposition de is very varied and characteristic. It may mean "in the case of," de omni muliere: XXI, or "being based on," for ex, ab : de militari exemplo : XIX ; or it may mean "as regards" : de stationum diebus : XIX.

Sometimes the partitive relation is lacking :

Abraham deus sacrificare de filio (=filium) iusserat : VIII.

Elsewhere in Tertullian de is used with Adjectives to form adverbial expressions :

de uero, de falso : Apol., XXIII.
de cetero : Apol., II ; De Resurr. Carn., XXXIX.
de proximo : De Pat., VII.

(2) in :

The exchanging of the Accusative and Ablative with in is according to Norden : *Ant. Kunstprosa*, page 609, to be attributed to Greek influence because just at this time ἐν and εἰς were interchanged.

(i) Ablative for Accusative :

pertinet in nobis : V.

(ii) Accusative for Ablative :

in abditum esse : I.

(3) penes = apud :

penes dominum : VII.

Apud is found in Chs. XVI, XXII.

10. *The Use of the Metaphor*

(1) deuehere :

deuehe nos a malo : VIII.

(2) diluere :

eadem diluit delicta : XXIX.

(3) There is a military flavour about agmine uerborum : I, combining the ideas of repetition and mass—the march past of a whole army.

(4) The use of statio is a metaphor from the military

sense, as Tertullian recognises. Christ's soldiers are, as it were, on outpost duty—si statio de militari exemplo nomen accepit (nam et militia dei sumus) : XIX.

The word occurs again in XXIII : ieiuniis et stationibus.

(ii) *Words for Prayer and Scripture*

1. *Prayer*

The Lord's Prayer is legitima et ordinaria oratio : X. Prayer, in a general sense, is oratio : Chs. I, V, VII, XI, XII, XV, XVI, XVIII, XIX, XXIII, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX.

Petitio is used for the clauses of the Lord's Prayer : Chs. III, IV, VI, VII, IX, XX, XXVII ; deprecatio is found in Ch. IX.

The most common verb is orare : Chs. II, III, V, IX, XIV, XV, XVII, XXIII and XXIX (five times). Adorare occurs in Chs. I, II, XVI, XVII. Precari is rare : VII, as is petere : IV, VI, VII ; postulare : III, V and VI (*bis*) and supplicare : IX. Optare is found in Chs. III (*bis*), IV and V.

2. *Scripture*

Tertullian's language concerning Scripture is worthy of notice. The usual introduction to scriptural quotations are the words : inquit, Chs. II, III, IV, VI, VII, X, XXVIII.

Dicit : VI, the Present Participle dicens : Chs. II and VIII.

A quotation from St. John's Gospel is introduced, thus—scriptum est. : II. The phrase iam et alibi is found with reference to a quotation from St. Luke (vi. 37) in Ch. VII.

Tertullian alludes to the composition of the Book of Genesis : illa Genesis digesta : XXII. In Genesi is the mode of citation for this book (iv. 24) : Ch. VII.

The Book of Genesis is referred to as Scriptura : cum dicat scriptura : XXII. The epithet is diuina : Scriptura diuina : XXII (init). Cf. also *De Baptismo :* XVIII ; *De Spect. :* III. Scriptura in the singular meaning " a

writing " occurs in XVI. The word with this meaning belongs to the Silver-Latin Age, and it does not occur in earlier prose than Tacitus. It occurs in the plural (scripturæ) debitum autem in scripturis delicti figura est : VII, XXV.

The Book of the Law is lex : Chs. I, VII, XI. Prophecy is prophetia : I. The various distinctions are assigned to the Biblical writers : prophetæ, euangelia, apostoli : IX. The New Testament is Nouum testamentum : I. Euangelium is used for St. John's Gospel : XXVIII. It is used also, in the wide sense, in Ch. I, where Tertullian speaks of the Lord's Prayer as breuiarium totius euangelii. The teaching and words of our Lord are : sermones Domini, parabolæ, exempla, præcepta : IX. Parabola occurs again in Chs. XI, XX, XXI, XXII.

The name assigned to the Pauline Epistles is litteræ. Tertullian mentions that they were composed in the Greek language : quod græco sermone quo litteras apostolus fecit : XXII.

(iii) *The following points are worthy of notice :*

(1) Anacoluthon :

quam autem temerarium est aut diem sine oratione transigere, dum cessas fratri satisfacere, aut orationem perseuerante iracundia perdere ? XI.

(2) Parenthesis :

si statio de militari exemplo nomen accepit (nam et militia dei sumus) : XIX.

ubi scilicet differentia postulat (distinguit autem utramque speciem suis uocabulis designans).

(3) Syncope :

pusillanimos : XXIX.

magnanimos : XXIX.

(4) Ellipsis (dicam) :

quid ergo amplius de officio orationis : XXIX.

(5) Pleonasm of Conjunctions :

quamquam etsi : IV.

ubicumque autem alibi : XVIII.

7. Biblical Quotations

In the present chapter an attempt will be made to discuss briefly the following :

(*a*) Tertullian's Bible.
(*b*) The quotations in the *De Oratione.*

(a) *Tertullian's Bible*

Much discussion has centred round the origin of the Latin versions. Was the Bible first translated into Latin at Rome or in Northern Africa, for these were the two great centres of Western Christianity ? Tertullian does not tell us.

Some scholars decide for Rome on the supposition that the lower stratum of members in the Christian Church of the metropolis would from the earliest times require a Latin translation of the Scriptures.[1] But when Christianity reached Rome, the Church which was founded there was certainly at first more Greek than Latin. St. Paul wrote to it in Greek. The earlier Bishops of Rome, with few exceptions, have Greek names ; and Clement, the most notable exception, wrote his Epistle to the Corinthians in Greek which is found along with the books of the New Testament in one of the earliest Greek Bibles, the Codex Alexandrinus. The first clearly Latin Bishop of Rome was Victor (A.D. 189-199). The early literature of the Roman Church, the " Shepherd " of Hermas, the Apologies of Justin Martyr, and the works of Hippolytus, are in Greek. The first Roman liturgy was in Greek. There was therefore at first no necessity for a Latin version of the Scriptures : and the necessity, when it arose, was felt less in Rome itself than in the Roman province of Africa.[2]

[1] Such as Kaulen : *Gesch. die Vulg.*, p. 109 f. ; Gams : *Kirchengesch. Spaniens.*, I, p. 86 f.

[2] F. G. Kenyon, *Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, deals with the origin of the Latin Bible (p. 197 ff.). He says : " The roughness of the more primitive forms of the Old Latin text, and the characteristic peculiarities of its dialect and vocabulary, have commonly been held

The history of the Old Latin versions of the Bible is lost in complete obscurity. However, we know that the Scillitan Martyrs at Carthage in the year A.D. 180 had in their case of rolls "Epistles of Paul a just man"[1] (Texts and Studies, 1, 2, p. 114. Camb., 1890). There are passages in Tertullian which seem to show clearly that some definite usage already existed, viz.:

Adu. Marc., v, 4 (Gal. iv. 24): Hæc sunt enim duo testamenta, siue duæ ostensiones sicut inuenimus interpretatum.

Adu. Marc., iv, 1: alterius instrumenti uel, quod magis usui est dicere, testamenti.

Adu. Prax., v: ideoque iam in usu est nostrorum, per simplicitatem interpretationis "sermonem" dicere in primordio apud Deum fuisse cum magis "rationem" competat antiquiorem haberi.

Tertullian, in the *De Monog.*, xi, after giving the Latin version of a passage, states that it was differently read "in Græco authentico," that is in the original Greek, as opposed to a Latin translation: sciamus plane non sic in Græco authentico, quomodo in usum exiit duarum syllabarum, aut callidam aut simplicem uersionem, "si autem dormierit uir eius" (1 Cor. vii. 39). There is more marked evidence than this, e.g. Galatians iii. 26 is thus quoted in *Adu. Marc.*, v, 3: omnes enim filii estis fidei. Here plainly "fidei" must be a variant of the Latin "dei" and not of the Greek θεοῦ. Tertullian had a Latin text before him, and evidently he had not compared it with the Greek original. He seems also to have

to point to Africa as its home, since they are also found in the African Latin authors, such as Tertullian, Apuleius, Cyprian, Arnobius, etc."

Dr. F. C. Burkitt, in his article "Text and Versions" in *Encycl. Bib.*, IV, 4993, says: "No tradition of the origin or literary history of the Latin versions seems to have been known even to Augustine or Jerome, it remains an open question whether the first translation was made in Roman Africa, in Italy, or in Gaul."

[1] Dr. F. C. Burkitt, article "Texts and Versions" in *Encycl. Bib.*, IV, 4992, says: "What type of text these MSS. may have been it is, of course, impossible directly to determine, but the occasional references of Tertullian (e.g. *Adu. Prax.*, v) to the translation then in common use are not inconsistent with the belief that it was of the same general type as that found in the many Biblical quotations of Cyprian."

had the use of versions of Genesis,[1] and the Gospels of St. Luke[2] and St. John.[3]

Cyprian's quotations provide us with a fixed standard. Two codices of the "Old Latin" Gospels are very like Cyprian's quotations, viz.: Cod. Bobiensis (k) and Cod. Palatinus (e),[4] and the text of Cod. Floriacensis (h) is almost exactly that of Cyprian. We can affirm that in the year A.D. 250 a Latin translation of the Bible, whose characteristics we are able to determine, circulated at Carthage. On the other hand, Tertullian's quotations do not agree consistently with any surviving MSS. Dr. Burkitt, in "Texts and Versions" (*Encycl. Bib.*) says, "It is rarely possible to take the many scriptural allusions in Tertullian's works as literal representations of the Biblical text current in his day."

Tertullian's Biblical quotations are a very difficult problem: it is doubtful as to whether he is (1) translating from the Greek for himself, (2) paraphrasing the Latin text in use at Carthage, or (3) quoting from memory, for oftenhis words are more or less distinct reminiscence of the text.

Tertullian states in one of his treatises that he visited Rome.[5] Perhaps he may have been acquainted with a "European" form of text, for his text seems to be sometimes African and sometimes European. His method of quoting is most fickle, for example his citation of 1 Corinthians xv. 47, which appears in three of his separate treatises in three distinct forms. One of these is identical with Cyprian's text.

[1] *Adu. Marc.*, II, 9: "Quidam enim de græco interpretantes non recogitata differentia nec curata proprietate uerborum pro afflatu spiritum ponunt."

[2] *Adu. Marc.*, IV, 14: "Beati mendici (sic enim exigit interpretatio uocabuli quod in græco est), quoniam illorum est regnum dei."—St. Luke vi. 20.

[3] *Adu. Prax.*, V: "Hunc græci λόγον dicunt, quo uocabulo etiam sermonem appellamus."

[4] Hort was the first to point out the close connection of the texts k and e with the many and accurate quotations of Cyprian. See F. C. Burkitt, *The Old Latin and the Itala:* (Texts and Studies, IV, p. 11. Camb., 1896), in which he says: "Of these two MSS. k is more faithful to the Cyprianic standard than e, but both are on quite a different plane for the rest of the Latin MSS."

[5] *De Cult. Fœm.*, I, 7: "gemmarum quoque nobilitatem uidimus Romæ."

Adu. Marc., v, 10 : Primus inquit, homo de humo terrenus, secundus dominus de cælo.

De Resurr. Carn., xlix : Primus, inquit, homo de terra choicus . . . secundus homo de cælo.

De Carn. Christi, viii : Legimus plane, Primus homo de terræ limo, secundus homo de cælo. So also Cyprian : *De Zelo et Liuore*, xiv.

What can be said of the relation of Tertullian's Bible to that of Cyprian ? Investigations dealing with this interesting problem have already been undertaken, an account of which is given by Dr. H. A. A. Kennedy in his article on Latin Versions (*H.D.B.*, Vol. III), in which he says, " We have made a somewhat full collation of Tertullian's quotations with those of the Testimonia of Cyprian : using Volume III of the *Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat.* (ed. Hartel), and Tertullian in the *Vienna Corpus* also (Vol. XX, Part 1) and, in addition, Rönasch's *Das N.T. Tertullians*. The results are rather vague and confusing. Evidently in the Epistles Tertullian and Cyprian use the same Latin text. For the Gospels the case is different. There is, indeed, a frequent agreement of Tertullian with Cyprian and k, and again, a frequent disagreement. In the latter instance, Tertullian coincides pretty often with a, b against Cyprian, k (perhaps Tertullian may have become acquainted with a European form of text at Rome). In the Old Testament Tertullian has some important points of contact with Cyprian's text of Psalms. As regards the Pentateuch and the Prophetic Books, it is not easy to speak definitely. In the former (in which the range of our collation has been very narrow), the differences seem mostly to consist in the use of synonyms. In the latter the quotations come fairly close to each other, except in Deuteronomy, where Tertullian uses the LXX, while Cyprian usually follows Theodotion."

A final theory about Tertullian's use of the current Latin texts can only be obtained by a special study of all his works.

For a fuller study on this subject the following books

are recommended : A. d'Alès : *La Theologie de Tertullien*, p. 231 ff. ; F. C. Burkitt : *The Old Latin and the Itala* (Camb. Texts and Studies, IV, 3. 1896) ; Wordsworth, Sanday and White : *Old Latin Biblical Texts* (Oxford. 1883–88).

(b) *The Biblical Quotations in the "De Oratione"*

I have examined all the Biblical quotations in the *De Oratione*, and I have compared them with those of other Latin Fathers in the great work of Sabatier, *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinæ Versiones Antiquæ*, 3 vols., 1743, etc. The result of my labours has been that Tertullian almost invariably differs from other Patristic quotations. I have compared the quotations of Tertullian with those of Cyprian, as may be seen in the table of Biblical quotations. Tertullian, in quoting from the Old Testament, apparently seems either himself to have translated from the Greek, or to have used a Latin version made from the Greek, not from the Hebrew.

Our two chief Old Latin authorities for the Prophetical Books are Cod. w. (Weingarten) and Cod. h. (Wurzburg). However, a comparison is not available here as the quotations of the *De Oratione* are not extant in these two codices. Dr. F. C. Burkitt, in *Old Latin and the Itala* (Texts and Studies, Vol. IV, 3, p. 6 f., 1896), says with regard to the Book of Daniel : " The Old Latin authorities from the Book of Daniel may be divided into two families, according as they follow the genuine LXX or the version of Theodotion. The earliest Latin version of Daniel, as introduced by Tertullian, by St. Victorinus of Pettau, and partly by St. Cyprian, was made from the LXX ; a later Latin version was made from Theodotion. Tertullian and St. Victorinus of Pettau use the LXX, but Cyprian used a mixed text. However, sometimes the text followed by Tertullian was nearer Theodotion : e.g. *Adu. Marc.*, III, 7 (Daniel ii. 34, 44)."

Tertullian's references to Daniel in *Adu. Psychicos.*, VII, IX, X, consist of allusions to Daniel ix., x., which,

where they follow the Biblical text, agree with LXX against Theodotion (*ib.*, p. 23).

Passing on to the New Testament, the African version is best represented in the Gospels by Cod. Bobiensis (k) at Turin, and Cod. Palatinus (e), both of the fourth and fifth centuries. It was Dr. Hort (in his letter to *Academy* of August, 14th, 1880) who undertook a classification of the extant New Testament documents. The earliest group he named African, consisting of texts which agreed in the whole with the quotations of Cyprian. Previously to this Codd. a, b, c and i had been assumed to represent the original, and therefore, presumably, African form of the Latin versions, all variations from this arbitrary standard being put down to correction from MSS. In the Gospels I have compared Tertullian's text with that of Cyprian, k and e.

The quotations from the Acts of the Apostles and the Apocalypse are not extant in Cod. h. (Floriacensis), therefore no comparison is available. I have brought together all the scriptural quotations of the *De Oratione* in the table below: it has been impossible to arrive at definite conclusions about Tertullian's text, for a final theory of his use of the current Latin texts can only be obtained by a special study of all his works, as I have already said.

N.B.—Cypr. = Cyprian.
k = Codex Bobiensis.
e = Codex Palatinus.

(1) Old Testament Quotations

DE ORATIONE.	GENESIS.
XXII.	iii. 7: ubi eis contigit sapere, texerunt statim quod agnouerant.
VII.	iv. 24: Reference.
XXII.	vi. 2: et acceperunt sibi in uxores.
XI.	xlv. 24: ne irascamini in uia.
	PSALMS.
XXVII.	xvi. 8: quod præponendo et honorando deo

PROVERBS.

v. xxi. 1: adapted—in cuius manu cor omnium regum est, cf. *Adu. Marc.*, IV, 26: an in cuius manu etiam corda sunt regum?

ISAIAH.

II. i. 2: Filios genui, et illi me non agnouerunt. LXX: *υἱοὺς ἐγέννησα καὶ ὕψωσα, αὐτοὶ δέ με ἠθέτησαν.*

Cypr.: *Test.*, I, 3; *De Dom. Orat.*, X; *De Zelo et Liuore*, XV, has: filios generaui et exaltaui, ipsi autem me spreuerunt. But *Test.*, I, 3 has "reprobauerunt," and there is a variant "genui" for "generaui."

Tertullian's quotation seems to be from memory, for "non agnouerunt" evidently arises from "agnouit bos" in the following verse

DE ORATIONE. ISAIAH.

XXVIII. i. 11, 12: quo mihi, inquit, multitudinem sacrificiorum uestrorum? plenus sum holocaustomatum arietum, et adipem, agnorum et sanguinem taurorum et hircorum nolo. quis enim requisiuit ista de manibus uestris?

So also Cyprian, *Test.*, I, 16, but with "holocaustomata" for "matum" and "pinguamina" for "adipem."

EZEKIEL.

VII. xviii. 23: quia uult eam quam mortem peccatoris.

This verse is quoted in *De Pœnit.*, IV.

DANIEL.

XV. iii. 21: cum sarabaris et tiaris.

The sarabaræ and tiaræ of Shadrach and his companions

are also mentioned in *De Res. Carn.*, LVIII. Both garments occur in the LXX, τὰς τιάρας (Dan. iii. 21), where they are thrown into the flames, and τὰ σάραβαρα (Dan. iii. 27) when they come out. In Daniel iii. 21, according to Theodotion, the garments are mentioned together.

DE ORATIONE.

XXV. vi. 10 : Reference.
XXIX. vi. 22 : nec ora leonibus obstruit.

(2) New Testament Quotations

DE ORATIONE. ST. MATTHEW.

XI. v. 21, 22 : aperte Dominus amplians legem, iram is fratrem homicidio superponit, ne uerbo quidem malo permittit expungi.

21a and 22 are quoted again in *De Pudicit.*, VI.

XI. v. 23, 24 : Ne prius ascendamus ad altare dei, quam si quid discordiæ uel offensæ cum fratribus contraxerimus, resoluamus.

III. v. 44 : orando pro omnibus, etiam pro inimicis nostris.

This verse is quoted in *De Anim.*, XXV : Diligite inimicos, inquit, et orate pro maledicentibus. *Ad. Scap.*, I : ita enim disciplina iubemur diligere inimicos quoque et orare pro eis qui nos persequntur.

The Lord's Prayer

St. Matthew vi. 9–13

Tertullian does not say from what Gospel he takes the Prayer, but an examination of the text shows clearly that he follows the Matthæan, not the Lukan form, and so does St. Cyprian. The table below shows the comparison between the texts of Tertullian, Cyprian and k.

Tert.: *De Orat.*, Chs. II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII.	Cypr.: *De Orat. Dom.:* VII.	K (Cod. Bobbiensis).
Pater[1] qui in cælis es sanctificetur nomen tuum, fiat uoluntas tua in cælis et in terra, ueniat regnum tuum,[2] panem nostrum quotidianum[3] da nobis hodie, dimitte nobis debita nostra[4] . . . ne nos inducas in temptationem,[5] sed deuehe nos a malo.[6]	Pater noster qui es in cælis sanctificetur nomen tuum, adueniat regnum tuum fiat uoluntas tua in cælo et in terra, panem nostrum cottidianum da nobis hodie, et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos remittimus debitoribus nostris et ne patiaris nos induci in temptationem, sed libera nos a malo.	Pater noster qui in cælis sanctificetur nomen tuum, ueniat regnum tuum, fiat uoluntas tua in cælo et in terra panem nostrum cottidianum da nobis hodie et remitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos remittimus debitoribus nostris et ne passus fueris induci nos in temptationem sed libera nos a malo.

(1) **Pater.** Why Tertullian chose the shorter form of address here we do not know. But it enabled him to add that Father on the lips of the Church implies the further confession of Christ as Son; for Christ Himself said, "I and the Father are one" (St. John x. 30). Then Tertullian abruptly adds that all this implies the recognition of "our Mother, the Church!" In *Adu. Prax.*, XXIII, he quotes the clauses thus: Pater noster qui es in cælis.

(2) **fiat voluntas tua in cælis et in terra.** Augustine tells us that in his day this form was sometimes preferred, although the other form, sicut in cælo, was more usually used and read in the majority of manuscripts. Augustine, *De Dono. Persev.*, III, 6: Tertia petitio est; Fiat voluntas tua in cælo et in terra: uel, quod in plerisque codicibus legitur magisque ab orantibus frequentatur sicut in cælo

et in terra : quod plerique intellegunt, sicut sancti angeli et nos faciamus voluntatem tuam.

Sanctificetur nomen tuum, fiat voluntas tua in cælis et in terra, ueniat regnum tuum. There is a passage in Tertullian which implies that he found, at any rate in the text used by Marcion (for otherwise his argument is pointless), probably in the text common to himself and Marcion, a petition for the Holy Spirit substituted in the Lord's Prayer for " Sanctificetur nomen tuum." *Adu. Marc.*, IV, 26 : cui dicam, Pater ? ei qui me omnino non fecit, a quo originem non traho, an ei qui me faciendo et instruendo generauit ? A quo spiritum sanctum postulem ? A quo nec mundialis spiritus præstatur, an a quo fiunt etiam angeli spiritus, cuius et a primordio spiritus super aquas ferebatur ? eius regnum optabo uenire quem nunquam regem gloriæ audiri, an in cuius manu etiam corda sunt regum ? Quis dabit mihi panem quotidiamum ? There is evidence from the following that a prayer for the Holy Spirit took the place of the petition, " Ueniat regnum tuum." In a cursive MS. of the Gospels, of which Mr. Hoskier has published (1890) a full account, the text of which is very remarkable, the opening clauses of the Lord's Prayer in St. Luke's Gospel run thus : *πάτερ ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου· ἐλθέτω τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ καθαρισάτω ἡμᾶς γενηθήτω.* Mr. Hoskier calls this MS. Cod. Ev. 604 (=700 Gregory)

Gregory of Nyssa, *De Oratione Dominca* (cd. Krabinger, p. 60), quoted in F. H. Chase, *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church* (p. 25) ; Maximus, a champion of the orthodox party against the Monothelites, in the first half of the seventh century (Migne, P.G. XC., p. 884 f.), also quoted in above work. No doubt it was a liturgical addition employed in connection with the laying on of hands.

With regard to the arrangement of the clauses in Tertullian, " Sanctificetur nomen tuum, Fiat uoluntas tua in cœlis et in terra, Ueniat regnum tuum," Dr. Chase (p. 27) says : " I do not know that there is any other authority for this arrangement of the petitions, and it is

hard not to feel that though Tertullian is here quoting the fuller form of St. Matthew's Gospel, this order is connected with the reading which he records in the treatise against Marcion. At first sight this codex appears to point to little more than a general unsettlement of the earlier petitions. But further examination reveals, I think, an explanation which is at least possible. Tertullian lays some stress on the interpretation (or to anticipate a possible relic of an addition to the text) " ut sanctificetur in nobis." With the clause so interpreted he connects the petition which in his text follows, and on which he gives a similar gloss, " ut a nobis fiat uoluntas Dei in terris." These two clauses then, Sanctificetur—and Fiat uoluntas—as explained by Tertullian on the one hand, and on the other the prayer for the Holy Spirit, would come to be regarded as very closely allied. Hence the two former petitions would replace the petition for the Holy Spirit. If this interpretation of the evidence of the *De Oratione* is right, it appears to favour the view that the clause about the Holy Spirit had a place in the MSS. used both by Tertullian and by Marcion, while it coincides with the evidence of the *Aduersus Marcionem* as to the position of the clause.

(3) **panem nostrum quotidianum**. Tertullian gives first the spiritual and the Sacramental sense, and then what he calls " the carnal sense."

Compare Cyprian, *De Orat. Dom.*, XVIII. Quotidianus was the Old Latin rendering of ἐπιούσιος. Origen, the greatest textual critic of primitive days, says that the word ἐπιούσιος was coined by the Evangelists, and is not found in earlier Greek writers. This word has been interpreted in various ways. For a full discussion see Dr. Lightfoot, *App. to Fresh Rev. of New Testament;* F. H. Chase, *Lord's Prayer in the Early Church* (Camb. Texts and Studies, I, 3, p. 42 ff.); McClellan, *New Testament*, p. 632 ff.; Wratislaw, article in *The Churchman* (July, 1888).

The Old Latin " panis quotidianus " was retained by Jerome in his version of St. Luke, but in St. Matthew

was altered by Jerome to " supersubstantialem." " Panis quotidianus " finds a close parallel in the earliest extant Latin version of St. James (ii. 15) : " uictus quotidianus " (Cod. Corbeiensis), a rendering which Jerome preserves. The writings of neither Tertullian nor Cyprian supply evidence as to the text of St. James.

(4) **Dimitte nobis debita nostra.** The Old Syriac and Aphraates' comments on it find a curious parallel in Tertullian's reference to the Latin version of the clause. The quotations and comments of the Homilies of Aphraates are given in Chase, *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church* (p. 58).

Tertullian does not quote the second clause of the petition for forgiveness here, nor does he give the exact words in *Adu. Marc.*, IV, 26. However, in this chapter he gives the following clause : " Quod idem seruus a domino liberatur non perinde parcit debitori sed ac propterea . . . tortori delegatur . . . eo competit, quod remittere nos quoque profitemur debitoribus nostris. Iam et alibi ex hac specie orationis, Remittite, inquit, et remittetur uobis." In *De Pudicit.*, II, we find " Dimittis autem, ut dimittatur tibi a deo. Delicta mundatur quæ quis in fratrem, non deum admiserit. Debitoribus denique dimissuros nos in oratione profitemur."

Chase (p. 59) thinks that this latter passage (dimissuros) certainly appears to suggest that in some Old Latin copies the reading in the Prayer was " dimittemus." I do not know that there is any MS. authority for such a reading.

Cyprian's text and comment seem clearly in favour of the common reading and interpretation. *De Orat. Dom.*, XXIII : Scienties impetrari non posse, quod pro peccatis petimus, nisi et ipsi circa peccatores nostros paria fecerimus.

(5) **Ne nos inducas in temptationem** id est : ne nos patiars induci ab eo utique qui temptat. Here we have evidence of an early Latin gloss on " ne nos inducas in temptationem." Cyprian's *De Orat. Dom.*, XXV, has " illud quoque necessarie monet Dominus ut in oratione

dicamus et ne patiaris nos induci in temptationem." Augustine gives an account of the form of the petition which we are considering. *De Sermone Domini*, IX, 30: "et ne nos inferas in temptationem. Nonnulli codices habent inducas, quod tantumdem ualere arbitror; non ex uno græco quod dictum est εἰσενέγκῃς utrumque translatum est. Multi autem precando ita dicunt, ne nos patiaris induci in temptationem, exponentes uidelicet quomodo dictum sit inducas." Again, in *De Dono Perseverantiæ*, VI: "Quod itaque dicimus nisi ne nos inferri sinas? Unde sic orant nonnulli et legitur in codicibus pluribus, et hoc sic posuit beatissimus Cyprianus: Ne patiaris nos induci in temptationem. In Euangelio tamen Græco nusquam inueni nisi ne nos inferas in tentationem."

The writer, commonly called Arnobius Junior, in the dialogue called *De Deo Trino et Uno*, II, 30, has: "ne nos induci patiaris in temptationem."

The gloss has found its way into several MSS., and it evidently took more than one form. Thus,

(i) Cod. Bobiensis (k) has: "et ne passus fueris induci nos in temptationem." Here it may be well to note that Hartel records two variants in Cyprian's quotation of this clause in the Lord's Prayer. (*a*) Cod. Veronensis substitutes "passus fueris" for "patiaris." (*b*) Cod. Sangallensis and Cod. Wurzeburgensis have "induci nos."

(ii) Cod. Colbertinus (*c*), which gives a "mixed" Latin text, reads "ne passus nos fueris induci in temptationem."

(iii) Cod. Sangermanensis (g^2), Sabatier gives "ne patiaris nos induci" as the reading of this MS.

(iv) Cod. Dublinensis olim Armachanus (Book of Armagh).

(v) Cod. Euang. Rushworthianus, uel "Gospels of Mac Regol."

Both of these MSS. read "ne patiaris nos induci."

There are two other passages in Tertullian dealing with this clause of the Lord's Prayer.

De Fuga, in *Persecut.*, 11 : Erue nos a maligno, id est, ne nos induxeris in temptationem permittendo nos maligno. Tunc enim eruimur diaboli manibus, cum illi nam tradimur in temptationem.

Adu. Marc., IV, 26 : Quis non sinet nos deduci in temptationem ? Quem poterit temptator non timere, ac qui a primordio temptatorem angelum prædamnauerit ?

The thought of the Divine permission in the matter of temptation is the turning point of Tertullian's interpretation of the last two clauses of the Prayer. It is the devil who tempts man, and men are tempted only when God permits it. The gloss in question is ultimately to be traced back to the words of St. Paul (1 Cor. x. 12, 13).

The difficult "ne nos inducas" produced another Latin gloss. Thus we find in Jerome, in Ezekiel xlviii. 16 : Sed quotidie in oratione dicentes, ne inducas nos in temptationem quam ferre non possumus. Augustine, *De Serm. Dom.*, II, 9 : aliud est induci in temptationem, aliud temptari . . . inducemur enim si tales acciderint quas ferre non possumus. Pseudo-Augustine, *Serm.*, LXXXIV : Et ne patiaris nos induci in temptationem quam ferre non possumus.

(6) **deuehe nos a malo.** The Old Latin MSS. have "libera nos a malo."

Here "deuehe" is put for "erue." Tertullian gives a revised reading in the *De Fuga in Persecut.*, 11 : "erue nos a maligno." In Luke xi. 4, Cod. Brixianus (*f*) has "erue nos a malo."

Throughout Tertullian is eager to justify God's ways to men. To the devil, therefore, he assigns a double part in regard to temptation. He both leads men into temptation (induci ab eo . . . artificem temptationis) and he tempts them (qui temptat . . . præsidem temptationis). It is for this reason (because, that is the occasion of the temptation and the temptation itself are to be traced to Satan, not to God), that the explanatory clause is added, "Sed deuehe nos a malo." If "malo" were neuter, the addition, according to Tertullian's exegesis, would be without point.

Compare a passage in *De Fuga* in *Persecut.*, II: In legitima oratione, cum dicimus ad patrem, ne nos inducas in temptationem (quæ artem maior temptatio quam persecutor) ab eo illam profitemur accidere a quo ueniam eius deprecamur. Hoc est enim quod sequitur, sed erue nos a maligno, id est, ne nos induxeris in temptationem permittendo nos maligno. Tunc enim eruimur diaboli manibus, cum illi non tradimur in temptationem. It may be noted that "malignus" is not used by Cyprian. Tertullian follows here the same general line of thought as in the *De Oratione.*

In both places he discussed the relation of temptation to God and to Satan, only in the *De Fuga in Persecutione*, he is led by the circumstances to regard temptation under the special form of persecution; in both he refers to the illustration of the Disciples in the Garden: in both places he adopts the same view as to "ne nos inducas. . . ."

In *De Oratione* his gloss is "ne nos patiaris induci ab eo"; in the *De Fuga* it is "ne nos induceris . . . permittend' nos maligno."

A study of Cyprian, *De Orat. Dom.*, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, will show that his verdict, like Tertullian's, is for the masculine interpretation of "a malo."

There are passages in Tertullian's writings in which "Malus," even in the oblique case, is used as a name of Satan. Chase points out (p. 135) that such an absolute use of the simple adjective is against the Latin idiom, which would rather require "Malus ille," a phrase which we find in *De Cult. Fem.*, II, 5: "Christianus a malo illo adiuuabitur in aliquo?" And in Zeno of Verona, *Tract.*, XLIII: "omnes sagittas illius mali." The following references seem to be decisive as to Tertullian's usage: *De Idololat.*, XVI; *De Patientia*, V, XI, XIV, XXI.

Elsewhere (*Apol.*, XXII; *De Test. Anim.*, III) Tertullian represents the common pagan exclamation "malus" as an unconscious reference to Satan. Cf. *Adu. Hermog.*, XI: "erit mali finis cum præses eius diabolus abierit in ignem."

For a full discussion of the interpretation of this clause

see F. H. Chase, *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church* (Camb. Texts and Studies, I, 3, pp. 71–167). Dr. Chase deals with the subject under three distinct headings, viz. (1) the meaning of the prepositions ἀπό and ἐκ after ῥύεσθαι and kindred verbs. (2) The origin, meaning and use of the term ὁ πονηρός. (3) The evidence as to the gender of ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ to be derived from (i) the Gospels, (ii) the Epistles, (iii) early Christian literature, (iv) the earliest versions.

DE ORATIONE.	ST. MATTHEW.
VI.	vi. 32 : cetera enim nationes requirunt. Cypr., *Testim.*, III, 11 ; *De Op. et Eleemosyn.*, IX, and K have hæc enim nationes requirunt.
VI.	vi. 33 : Quærite prius regnum, et tunc uobis etiam hæc adicientur. Cypr., *Testim.*, III, 11 ; *De Op. et Eleemosyn.*, IX, have " primum " for " prius "— " omnia ista " for " etiam hæc," and " adponentur " for " adicientur." Tertullian quotes Luke xii. 31, in *Adu. Marc.*, III, 24 : Quærite primum regnum Dei, et hæc adicientur vobis. Cod. Bezæ (d) has " et hæc omnia adicientur."
VI.	vi. 34 : nolite de crastino cognitare, quid edatis. So also Cypr., *Testim.*, III, 11, and k, but with " in crastinum " for " de crastino."
X.	vii. 7 : Petite, inquit, et accipietis. So also *De Bapt.*, XX, and *De Præscript. Hæret.*, VIII.

Tertullian certainly ought to have written " et dabitur uobis," as in the Greek : δοθήσεται ὑμῖν, which all ancient authorities seem to follow. Comp. St. Hilary, *Tract., Psalm* lx. 4 : " Petite et dabitur uobis." So also St. Ambrose, *De Cain et Abel*, VI. The actual phrase,

" Petite et accipietis," is to be found in John xvi. 24. The same confusion occurs in *Passio S. Perpetuæ*, XIX. Dr. J. A. Robinson on this passage (Matt. vii. 7), in Camb. Texts and Studies, I, 2, p. 49, says : " The confusion is an easy one : but it is apparently not to be accounted for by any known version, and the fact that it is made by our author and by Tertullian is certainly an interesting coincidence and one which acquires importance when added to those already mentioned."

We are not justified in laying stress on it as an idiosyncrasy of Tertullian, for I have found the same confusion in St. Augustine, *Ep.* CLIII, 5, and *De Moribus, Eccl. Cath.*, I, 17 : " Petite, et accipietis." However, Augustine writes, in *Serm.*, LXI, 1, and *De Serm. in Mont.*, II, 21 : " Petite et dabitur uobis."

VI. vii. 9 : Numquid filio panem poscenti lapidem tradit.

Cypr., *Ep.*, LV, 23, and k have " petierit " and " porrigat," so also the European versions Codd. a (Vercellensis) and b (Veronensis).

I. ix. 16, 17 : Nouum uinum nouis utribus recondi et nouum plagulam nouo adsui uestimento.

VI. xv. 26 : Numquid panem filiis pater aufert et canibus tradit.

Codd. k and e have : non est bonum accipere panem filiorum et mittere canibus.

VII. xviii. 22 : Cum interrogasset Petrus, si septies remittendum esset fratri : immo, inquit, septuagies septies.

VII. xviii. 27, 30 : Reference.

XI. xxiii. 9 : Ne quem in terris patrem uocemus, nisi quem habemus in cælis.

VI. xxvi. 26 : Hoc est corpus meum.

VIII. xxvi. 41 : orate ne temptemini.

The Greek has ἵνα μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς πειρασμόν.

Tertullian follows the Greek in *De Baptismo*, XX: Uigilate et orate, inquit, ne incidatis in temptationem.

DE ORATIONE	ST. LUKE.
XVI.	i. 11: Angelo adhuc orationis adstante.
VII.	vi. 37: Remittite, inquit, et remittetur uobis. So also *De Pat.*, XII, but in the singular: Remittis et remittetur tibi. Comp. *De Pudicit.*, II: Dimitte et dimettetur tibi, and *Adu. Marc.*, IV, 17: dimittite, et dimettemini; and here, rightly following the Greek: ἀπολύετε, καὶ ἀπολυθήσεσθε.
XXVI.	x. 5: Pax huic domui.
VI.	xi. 5: nocturnus ille pulsator panem poscebat. Reference is made to this verse elsewhere: *De Præscript. Hæret.*, XII: etiam pulsator ille uicini ianuam tundebat. Adu. Marc., IV, 26: Sic et præmissa similitudo nocturnum panis petitorem amicum facit, non alienum, et ad amicum pulsantem, non ad ignotum.
VII.	xviii. 14: iustificatior pharisæo procacissimo discessit. Cyprian, *De Orat. Dom.*, VI, and e have: descendit hic iustificatus in domum suam magis quam ille phariseus.
VI.	xxii. 19: Hoc est corpus meam.
IV.	xxii. 42: Pater inquit, transfer, poculum istud nisi quod mea non, sed tua fiat uoluntas. Cod. b (Veronensis) has: Pater, si uis transfer calicem hunc a me uerum non mea uoluntas sed tua fiat. Cod. e has: Pater non mea uoluntas sed tua fiat si uis transfer calicem istum a me.

DE ORATIONE.	ST. JOHN.
I.	i. 1: et dei sermo et Dei ratio. This verse is quoted in *Adu. Prax.*, XIII,

and *Hermog.*, XX: In Euangelio . . . inuenis. In principio erat sermo et sermo erat apud deum et Deus erat sermo.

Sermo occurs also in *Adu. Prax.*, Chs. VII, XVI, XIX, XX.

Elsewhere Tertullian has "uerbum," but more frequently "sermo" is employed. *Apol.*, XXI: Ostendens se esse λόγον Dei, id est, uerbum, illud primordiale primogenitum, uirtute et ratione comitatum et spiritu fultum, eundem, qui uerbo omnia et faceret et fecisset. St. John i. 14, is quoted in *De Pudicit.*, VI, XVI: Sermo caro factus est. So also in *Adu. Prax.*, XXVI, but in Ch. V (*ib.*) Tertullian states his personal preference for "Ratio." He quotes the same words in *De Carn. Christi*, XVIII, where we find uerbum caro factum est.

With regard to "Sermo" and "uerbum," notice that while Tertullian varies, like Augustine, in his usage, Cyprian always has "sermo," e.g.: Cypr., *Testim.*, II, 3 (Codd. opt.), in principio fuit sermo.

II. i. 12: Qui in eum crediderint, dedit eis potestatem, ut filii Dei uocentur. Cyprian, *De Orat. Dom.*, IX, and *Testim.*, I, 3, have: Quot quot eum receperunt, dedit illis potestatem, ut filii Dei fierent, qui credunt in nomine eius. I cannot find any other Patristic authority for the reading "uocentur," in Sabatier.

I. iii. 30: Iohannes prænuntiabat illum augeri oportere, se uero deminui.

I. iii. 31: Qui de terra est, inquit, terrena fatur et qui de cælis adest, quæ uidit ea loquitur.

Tertullian has "qui de supernis uenit" for "qui de cælis ad est" in *De Baptismo*, X.

XXVIII. iv. 23, 24: ueniet hora, inquit, cum ueri

adoratores adorabunt patrem in spiritu et ueritate. Deus enim spiritus, et adoratores itaque tales requirit. Deus enim spiritus : So also *Adu. Marc.*, II, 9.

Adu. Prax., XXVII : Quia deus spiritus. *Apol.*, XXI : nam et deus spiritus.

III. v. 43 : ego ueni in nomine patri.

The Greek has τοῦ πατρός μου, and Tertullian has " mei patris " in *Adu. Prax.*, Chs. XVI, XVII and XXIII. So also Cypr., *Testim.*, II, 5, Codd. a, b and e.

VI. vi. 33 : Panis est sermo Dei uiui, qui descendit de cælis. The insertion of " sermo " seems to be Tertullian's own.

VI. vi. 35 : ego sum panis vitæ.

IV. vi. 38 : Reference.

I. vi. 63 : Reference.

II. x. 30 : ego enim, et pater unum sumus.

Tertullian quotes this verse in *Adu. Hermog.*, XVIII ; *Adu. Prax.*, Chs. VIII, XX, XXIV and XXV, and Cypr., *De Cath. Eccl. Unit.*, VI ; *Ep.*, LXIX, 4. Cod. e has : et ego et pater meus unum sumus.

III. xii. 28 : Pater, glorifica nomen tuum ; quoted again in *Adu. Prax.*, XXIII.

III. xvii. 6 : Nomen tuum manifestaui hominibus.

DE ORATIONE. ACTS.

XXV. ii. 15 : Reference.

XXV. iii. 1 : Idem cum Iohanne ad nonam in templum adibat, ubi paralyticum sanitati reformauit.

XXV. x. 9 : sexta hora orandi gratia ascenderat in superiora : Tertullian refers to this verse again in *De Ieiun.*, X.

XXIV. xvi. 25 : orabant et canebant Deo. Cypr., *Testim.*, III, 14, has : circa mediam

autem noctem. Paulus et Silas orantes gratias agebant Deo.

XXIX. xvi. 26 : Reference.

XXIV. xxvii. 35 : Coram omnibus Eucharistiam fecit.

DE ORATIONE. ROMANS.

I. ii. 29 : Reference.

DE ORATIONE. CORINTHIANS.

XXII. iv. 7 : Et accepisti, quid gloriaris quasi non acceperis ?

XXII. xi. 5 : omnis inquit, mulier adorans et prophetans intecto capite dedecorat caput suum.

The verbal substantive dedecorator is found in the *Apology*, XIV.

XXII. xi. 6 : si mulieri turpe est radi. Cf. *De Uirg. Ueland.*, VII : mulieri turpe est radi siue tonderi.

XXII. xi. 10 : Propter angelos ait uelari oportere. Cf. *De Coron. Milit.*, XIV : Si nudo capite raderi non debet propter angelos, multo magis coronato fortasse tunc illos coronatos scandalizauerit, and again in *De Uirg. Ueland.*, XIII ; *De Pudicit.*, XIV.

XXII. xi. 14, 15 : Dicit naturam ipsam docere, uelandum feminis esse, quæ capillum pro tegumento et ornamento mulieribus assignarit. Cf. *De Coron. Milit.*, VI : In uelamine feminæ : nec natura uos docet. In the *De Uirg. Ueland.*, VII, Tertullian has " pro operimento " for " pro tegumento."

DE ORATIONE. EPHESIANS.

XI. iv. 26 : Si irascendum est, non ultra solis receptum, ut apostolus admonet.

This verse is quoted in *Adu. Marc.*, V, 18 :

Irascimini et nolite delinquere . . . sol non occidat super iracundiam uestram. So also Cypr., *Testim.*, III, 8.

XXIII. iv. 27 : ne quem diabolo locum demus. This verse is quoted again in *De Res. Carn.*, XLV : Neque dederitis locum diabolo. Cypr., *Ep.*, IV, 2 : Nolite locum dare diabolo. Tertullian has "malo" for "diabolo" in *De Fug. in Persecut.*, IX : (cum admonet) ne locum malo demus. Sabatier gives no other authority for this reading.

DE ORATIONE. I THESSALONIANS.

VIII. iii. 5 : ab eo utique qui temptat.

DE ORATIONE. I TIMOTHY.

XXIII. ii. 8 : omni in tempore et loco orare.

DE ORATIONE. 2 TIMOTHY.

XIX. ii. 3, 4 : Reference.

XXII. iii. 16 : omnis scriptura diuina. *De Cult. Fem.*, III, 16, has : Legimus omnem scripturam ædificationi habilem diuinitus inspirari.

XV. iv. 13 : Paulum pænulam suam in oratione penes Carpum reliquisse. *De Coron. Milit.*, VIII, has : plus est quod et Christus uestietur ; habebit etiam pænulam Paulus.

DE ORATIONE. HEBREWS.

VII. iv. 15 : sciebat dominus se solum sine delicto esse—Reference. Cf. also *De Anim.*, XLI ; *De Carn. Christ.*, XVI ; *De Præcept. Hæret.*, III.

XXVI. xiii. 2 : Reference.

DE ORATIONE. ST. JAMES.

VIII. i. 13 : Reference.

DE ORATIONE. I PETER.

XX. iii. 3 : Reference.

DE ORATIONE. APOCALYPSE.

III. iv. 8 : Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus.

V. vi. 9 : Clamant ad dominum inuidia animæ. Martyrum sub altari. Compare also *De Anim.*, VIII : Sic Iohannes in spiritu dei factus animas martyrum conspicit.

De Resurr. Carn., XXV : etiam in Apocalypsi Iohannis ordo sternitur, quem martyrum quoque animæ sub altari.

Cyprian has : uidi sub ara Dei animas occisorum (*Test.*, III, 16) : sub ara Dei occisorum Martyrum ; uidi sub ara Dei animas occisorum (*De Laps.*, XVIII).

V. vi. 10 : quonam usque non ulcisceris, Domine, sanguinem nostrum de incolis terræ ?

Cypr., *Testim.*, III, 16 : *De Lapsis*, XVIII ; *De Bono Patient.*, XXI : has " uindicas " for " ulcisceris " and " qui in terris inhabitant " for " de incolis terræ."

APOCRYPHA

DE ORATIONE. OLD TESTAMENT.

XXIX. Song of the Three Children.

26, 27 (Reference) : ceterum quanto amplius operatur oratio Christiana ! non roris angelum in mediis ignibus sistit.

XXIX. Bel and the Dragon.

33, 34 (Reference) : nec esurientibus rusticorum prandium transfert.

NEW TESTAMENT.

DE ORATIONE. THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS.

XVI. Vis. v. 1: Cum adorassem et assedissem super lectum. The text of the "Shepherd" is as follows: *προσευξαμένου μου ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ καὶ καθίσαντος εἰς τὴν κλίνην.*

XXVI. Uidisti, inquit, fratrem, uidisti dominum tuum.

This quotation is Agraphon No. 144 in Resch's Book (p. 182). He quotes with it two quotations from Clement of Alexandria—*Stromateis* I, 19, 94, and II, 15, 71—in the forms *εἶδ γαρ φησὶ, τον ἀδελφον σου, εἶδες τὸν Θεόν σου,* and the same without *φησὶ*. Resch's note suggests that the original was in Hebrew and that in the use of *Θεόν* or dominum, Clement and Tertullian were probably both thinking of Christ.

Note on the Apparatus Criticus

The text adopted is that of Reifferscheid and Wissowa in *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Vol. XX, Vienna, 1890: I have made no alteration or addition myself, however, I have recorded some of the important variants in the text.

In the textual notes:—

A = Codex Agobardinus, ix cent., Paris. *Bibliothèque Nationale.* Latin, 1622 (contains Chs. I–XXI).

B = The Edition of John Gangnaeus. Paris, 1545.

C = Codex Ambrosianus, at The Ambrosian Library in Milan. G. 58, sup. xth or xith cent. (contains Ch. IX, *seqq.*).

Gel. = The Edition of Sigismund Gelenius. Bâle, 1550.

Pam. = The Edition of James Pamelius. Antwerp, 1579.

Murat = Tertulliani Libellus de Oratione completus cum notis Guidonis Panciroli et Ludovici

Antonii Muratorii : anecdota quæ ex Ambrosianæ Bibliothecæ Codicibus Padova, 1713, Vol. III, pages 9–55.

X = Miscellaneæ Obseruationes in auctores ueteres et Recentiores, Vol. III, Tom. 1, page 220 *seqq*. Amsterdam, 1733. (No name of author given.)

DE ORATIONE

(i) Dei spiritus et dei sermo et dei ratio, sermo rationis et ratio sermonis et spiritus utriusque, Iesus Christus dominus noster nouis discipulis noui testamenti nouam orationis formam determinauit. oportebat enim in hac quoque specie nouum uinum nouis utribus recondi et nouam plagulam nouo adsui uestimento. ceterum quicquid retro fuerat, aut demutatum est, ut circumcisio, aut suppletum, ut reliqua lex, aut impletum, ut prophetia, aut perfectum, ut fides ipsa. omnia de carnalibus in spiritalia renouauit noua dei gratia superducto euangelio, expunctore totius retro uetustatis, in quo et dei spiritus et dei sermo et dei ratio approbatus est dominus noster Iesus Christus, spiritus quo ualuit, sermo quo docuit, ratio qua uenit, sic igitur oratio a Christo constituta ex tribus constituta est : ex sermone, quo enuntiatur, ex spiritu, quo tantum potest, ex ratione, qua docetur. docuerat et Iohannes discipulos suos adorare ; sed omnia Iohannis Christo præstruebantur, donec ipso aucto, sicut idem Iohannes prænuntiabat illum augeri oportere, se uero deminui, totum præministri opus cum ipso spiritu transiret ad dominum. ideo nec extat, in quæ uerba docuerit Iohannes adorare, quod terrena cælestibus cesserint. QUI DE TERRA EST, inquit, TERRENA FATUR, ET QUI DE CÆLIS ADEST, QUÆ UIDIT, EA LOQUITUR. et quid non cæleste quod domini

1] Cf. Joh. i. 1. 5] Cf. Matt. ix. 16, 17. 20] Joh. iii. 30. 24] Joh. iii. 31.

2. utriusque X. utrumque AB. 3. Nouis Pam. nobis AB: 4. orationem A. 10. spiritualia B. 15. quo AB. igitur oratio] igitur AB : oratio Gel. instituta X. 16. enunciatur A. 17. potest, ex ratione qua docetur *add.* Pam. ioannes B (*sic fere semper*). 19. ipso om. A.

Christi est, ut hæc quoque orandi disciplina? consideremus itaque, benedicti, cælestem eius sophiam, inprimis de præcepto secrete adorandi, quo et fidem hominis exigebat, ut dei omnipotentis et conspectum et auditum sub tectis et in abditum etiam adesse confideret, et modestiam fidei desiderabat, ut, quem ubique audire et uidere fideret, ei soli religionem suam offerret. sequens sophia in sequenti præcepto perinde pertineat ad fidem et modestiam fidei, si non agmine uerborum adeundum putemus ad dominum, quem ultro suis prospicere certi sumus. et tamen breuitas ista, quod ad tertium sophiæ gradum faciat, magnæ ac beatæ interpretationis substantia fulta est quantumque substringitur uerbis, tantum diffunditur sensibus. neque enim propria tantum orationis officia complexa est, ueenerationem dei aut hominis petitionem, sed omnem pæne sermonem domini, omnem commemorationem disciplinæ, ut reuera in oratione breuiarium totius euangelii comprehendatur.

(ii) Incipit a testimonio dei et merito fidei, cum dicimus, PATER QUI IN CÆLIS ES. nam et deum oramus et fidem commendamus, cuius meritum est hæc appellatio. scriptum est: QUI IN EUM CREDIDERINT, DEDIT EIS POTESTATEM, UT FILII DEI UOCENTUR. quamquam frequentissime dominus patrem nobis pronuntiauit deum, immo et præcepti, ne quem in terris patrem uocemus, nisi quem habemus in cælis. itaque sic adorantes etiam præceptum obimus. felices, pui patrem agnoscunt. hoc est quod Israeli exprobratur, quod cælum ac terram spiritus contestatur, FILIOS, dicens, GENUI, ET ILLI ME NON AGNOUERUNT. dicendo autem patrem deum quoque cognominamus.

21] Matt. vi. 9. 23] Joh. i. 12. 27] Cf. Matt. xxiii. 9. 31] Es. i. 2.

2. sofiam A (*sic fere semper*). 3. precepto A. 5. abditis Gel. 6. modestum B [et modestum fidei] B. 8. sequente AB. 8. perinde (Reiff. et Wissowa): proinde AB. 9. fidem hominis X. 10. dm̃ A. 13. interpretationis A *corr.* 16. uel ueenerationem AB: uel *del.* Gel. 23. crediderint B, credideř (=crediderunt) A. 25. quanquam A. 26. pronunciauit A. 29. israeli B (*sic semper*), israheli (*sic fere semper*) A. exprobatur A.

appellatio ista et pietatis et potestatis est. item in patre filius inuocatur. EGO ENIM, inquit, ET PATER UNUM SUMUS. ne mater quidem ecclesia præteritur. siquidem in filio et patre mater recognoscitur, de qua constat et patris et filii nomen. uno igitur genere aut uocabulo et deum cum suis honoramus et præcepti meminimus et oblitos patris denotamus.

(iii) Nomen dei patris nemini proditum fuerat. etiam qui de ipso interrogauerat, Moyses, aliud quidem nomen audierat. nobis reuelatum est in filio. iam quis enim filius? nouum patris nomen est. EGO UENI, inquit, IN NOMINE PATRIS, et rursus: PATER, GLORIFICA NOMEN TUUM, et apertius: NOMEN TUUM MANIFESTAUI HOMINIBUS. id ergo ut sanctificetur postulamus. non quod deceat homines bene deo optare, quasi sit et alius de quo ei possit optari aut laboret, nisi optemus. plane benedici deum omni loco ac tempore condecet ob debitam semper memoriam beneficiorum eius ab omni homine. sed et hoc benedictionis uice fungitur. ceterum quando non sanctum et sanctificatum est per semetipsum nomen dei, cum ceteros sanctificet ex semetipso? cui illa angelorum circumstantia non cessat dicere: SANCTUS, SANCTUS, SANCTUS. proinde igitur et nos angelorum, si meruerimus, candidati, iam hinc cælestem illam in deum uocem et officium futuræ claritatis ediscimus. hoc quantum ad gloriam dei. alioquin quantum ad nostram petitionem, cum dicimus: SANCTIFICETUR NOMEN TUUM, id petimus, ut sanctificetur in nobis, qui in illo sumus, simul et in ceteris, quos adhuc gratia dei expectat, ut et huic præcepto pareamus orando pro omnibus, etiam pro inimicis nostris. ideoque suspensa

2] Joh. x. 30. 11] *ibid.* v. 43; xii. 28. 13] *ibid.* xvii. 6. 23] Es. vi. 3. Apoc. iv. 8. 28] Matt. vi. 9. 31] Cf. Matt. v. 44.

3. eclesia A. 9. Moses A: quidem B, quidam A. 10. iam quis (Reiff. et Wissowa): I– –quis A, iam B. nouum Gel: non AB. 11. no nomen A *corr.* 13. glorifica nomen tuum *om.* B. 16. aliud Gel. 20. cęterum A. 22. ceteros A. 23. cessant A. 24. meminerimus Gel. ediximus Murat. 30. cęteris A. 31. orandi X.

enuntiatione non dicentes, sanctificetur in nobis, in omnibus dicimus.

(iv) Secundum hanc formam subiungimus: FIAT UOLUNTAS TUA IN CÆLIS ET IN TERRA, non quod aliquis obsistat, quo minus uoluntas dei fiat, et ei successum uoluntatis suæ oremus, sed in omnibus petimus fieri uoluntatem eius. ex interpretatione enim figurata carnis et spiritus nos sumus cælum et terra. quamquam etsi simpliciter intellegendum est, idem tamen est sensus petitionis, ut in nobis fiat uoluntas dei in terris, ut possit scilicet fieri et in cælis. quid autem deus uult quam incedere nos secundum suam disciplinam? petimus ergo substantiam et facultatem uoluntatis suæ subministret nobis, ut salui simus et in cælis et in terris, quia summa est uoluntatis eius salus eorum quos adoptauit. est et illa dei uoluntas, quam dominus administrauit prædicando operando sustinendo. si enim ipse pronuntiauit non suam, sed patris facere se uoluntatem, sine dubio, quæ faciebat, ea erat uoluntas patris, ad quæ nunc nos uelut ad exemplaria prouocamur, ut et prædicemus et operemur et sustineamus ad mortem usque. quæ ut implere possimus, opus est dei uoluntate. item dicentes, fiat uoluntas tua, uel eo nobis bene optamus, quod nihil mali sit in die uoluntate, etiam si quid pro meritis cuiusque secus inrogatur. iam hoc dicto ad sufferentiam nosmetipsos præmonemus. dominus quoque cum sub instantiam passionis infirmitatem carnis demonstrare iam in sua carne uoluisset, PATER, inquit, TRANSFER POCULUM ISTUD, et recordatus, NISI QUOD MEA NON, SED TUA FIAT UOLUNTAS. ipse erat uoluntas et potestas patris et tamen ad demonstrationem sufferentiæ debitæ uoluntati sc patris tradidit.

(v) UENIAT quoque REGNUM TUUM ad id pertinet, quo et FIAT UOLUNTAS TUA, in nobis scilicet. nam

3] Matt. vi. 10. 18] Cf. Joh. vi. 38. 29] Luc. xxii. 42.

1. enunciatione A. 4. celis A. 8. figura A *corr. in mg.* 9. quanquam A (*sic fere semper*). 18. sic Gel pronunciauit A. 26. erant B. 25. sit mali Gel. 28. substantia AB. 30. transfert B.

deus quando non regnat, IN CUIUS MANU COR OMNIUM REGUM EST? sed quicquid nobis optamus, in illum auguramur et illi deputamus quod ab illo expectamus. itaque si ad dei uoluntatem et ad nostram suspensionem pertinet regni dominici repræsentatio, quomodo quidam per tractum quendam in sæculo postulant, cum regnum dei, quod ut aduenìat oramus, ad consummationem sæculi tendat? optamus maturius regnare et non diutius seruire. etiamsi præfinitum in oratione non esset de postulando regni aduentu, ultro eam uocem protulissemus festinantes ad spei nostræ complexum. clamant ad dominum inuidia animæ martyrum sub altari: QUONAM USQUE NON ULCISCERIS, DOMINE, SANGUINEM NOSTRUM DE INCOLIS TERRÆ? nam utique ultio illorum a sæculi fine dirigitur. immo quam celeriter ueniat, domine, regnum tuum, uotum Christianorum, confusio nationum, exultatio angelorum, propter quod conflictamur, immo potius propter quod oramus.

(vi) Sed quam eleganter diuina sapientia ordinem orationis instruxit, ut post cælestia, id est post dei nomen, dei uoluntatem et dei regnum terrenis quoque necessitatibus petitioni locum faceret! nam et edixerat dominus: QUÆRITE PRIUS REGNUM, ET TUNC UOBIS ETIAM HÆC ADICIENTUR. quamquam PANEM NOSTRUM QUOTIDIANUM DA NOBIS HODIE spiritaliter potius intellegamus. Christus enim panis noster est, quia uita Christus et uitæ panis. EGO SUM, inquit, PANIS UITÆ, et paulo supra: PANIS EST SERMO DEI UIUI, QUI DESCENDIT DE CÆLIS, tunc quod et corpus eius in pane censetur: HOC EST CORPUS MEUM. itaque petendo panem quotidianum perpetuitatem postulamus in Christo et indiuiduitatem a corpore eius

1] Prov. xxi. 1. 13] Apoc. vi. 9, 10.
24] Matt. vi. 33. 28] Joh. vi. 35, 33.
31] Matt. xxvi. 26; Luc. xxii. 19.

6. pertractum B, protractum A: in *om.* A. 9. prefinitum A. 11. postulissemus A, postulassemus B. 12. inuidia AB, in uisu Gel. 16. cæleriter A. 20. eliganter A. 23. et edixerat Gel: et ei dixerat AB. 24. regnum dei X. 28. uita panis AB.

sed et quia carnaliter admittitur ista uox, non sine religione potest fieri et spiritalis disciplinæ. panem enim peti mandat, quod solum fidelibus necessarium est ; cetera enim nationes requirunt. ita et exemplis inculcat et parabolis retractat, cum dicit : NUMQUID PANEM FILIIS PATER AUFERT ET CANIBUS TRADIT ? item : NUMQUID FILIO PANEM POSCENTI LAPIDEM TRADIT ? ostendit enim, quid a patre filii expectent. sed et nocturnus ille pulsator panem poscebat. merito autem adiecit : DA NOBIS HODIE, ut qui præmiserat : NOLITE DE CRASTINO COGITARE QUID EDATIS. cui rei parabolam quoque accommodauit illius hominis, qui prouenientibus fructibus ampliationem horreorum et longæ securitatis spatia cogitauit, is ipsa nocte moritur.

(vii) Consequens erat, ut obseruata dei liberalitate etiam clementiam eius precaremur. quid enim alimenta proderunt, si illi reputamur reuera quasi taurus ad uictimam ? sciebat dominus se solum sine delicto esse. docet itaque petamus DIMITTE NOBIS DEBITA NOSTRA. exomologesis est petito ueniæ quia qui petit ueniam, delictum confitetur. sic et pœnitentia demonstratur acceptabilis deo, quia uult eam quam mortem peccatoris. debitum autem in scripturis delicti figura est, quod perinde iudicio debeatur et ab eo exigatur nec euadat iustitiam exactionis, nisi donetur exactio ; sicut illi seruo dominus debitum remisit. huc enim spectat exemplum parabolæ totius. nam et quod idem seruus a domino liberatus non perinde parcit debitori suo ac propterea delatus penes dominum tortori delegatur ad soluendum nouissimum quadrantem, id est modicum usque delictum, eo

3] Cf. Matt. vi. 32. 5] Matt. xv. 26.
7] *Ibid.* vii. 9. 9] Cf. Luc. xi. 5.
10] Matt. vi. 31. 19] Cf. Heb. iv. 15. 20] Matt. vi. 12.
23] Cf. Ezek. xviii. 23. 29] Cf. Matt. xviii. 27, 30.

4. cetera A. 8. expectens A *corr.* 9. pulsabat AB. 14. longe A : cogitans ipsa X. 16. dei Gel : diei AB, libertate A. 17. præcaremur A. 18. illis AB. 21. exhomologesis A *corr.* 22. patientia B. 25. figurata A *corr.* 29. dnm̃ A.

competit, quod remittere nos quoque profitemur debitoribus nostris. iam et alibi ex hac specie orationis : REMITTITE, inquit, ET REMITTETUR UOBIS. et cum interrogasset Petrus, si septies remittendum esset fratri, IMMO, inquit, SEPTUAGIES SEPTIES ; ut legem in melius reformaret, quod in Genesi de Cain septies, de Lamech autem septuagies septies ultio reputata est.

(viii) Adiecit ad plenitudinem tam expeditæ orationis, ut non de remittendis tantum, sed etiam de auertendis in totum delictis supplicaremus : NE NOS INDUCAS IN TEMPTATIONEM, id est, ne nos patiaris induci, ab eo utique qui temptat. ceterum absit ut dominus temptare uideatur, quasi aut ignoret fidem cuiusque aut deicere sit gestiens. diaboli est infirmitas et malitia. nam et Abraham non temptandæ fidei gratia sacrificare de filio iusserat, sed probandæ, ut per eum faceret exemplum præcepto suo, quo mox præcepturus erat, ne qui pignora deo cariora haberet. ipse a diabolo temptatus præsidem et artificem temptationis demonstrauit. hunc locum posterioribus confirmat, ORATE, dicens, NE TEMPTEMINI. adeo temptati sunt dominum deserendo, quia somno potius indulserant quam orationi. ergo respondet clausula, interpretans quid sit, NE NOS DEDUCAS IN TEMPTATIONEM. hoc est enim : SED DEUEHE NOS A MALO.

(ix) Compendiis pauculorum uerborum quot attinguntur edicta prophetarum, euangeliorum, aposto-

3] Luc. vi. 37. 5] Matt. xviii. 21 *sqq*. 6] Cf. Gen. iv. 24.
11] Matt. vi. 13. 13] Cf. 1 Thess. iii. 5.
22] Matt. xxvi. 41. 26] Matt. vi. 13.

2. hac *om* Murat. spetię A. 13. cęterum A (*sic fere semper*). 14. et fidem B. 15 . . . . nstiens A, consentiens B. 17. probandæ A. 19. ne qui (Reiff. et Wissowa) : neque AB. 19. chariora B, carior A : habenda Gel. 22. a deo B. 23. qui Gel. 24. causula A. 26. euehe Gel : malos B. 27. compendiis] *incipit* C. INC. TERTULLIANI DIVERSARV RERV NECESSARIARUM : I. Posse nos super adicere. II. Ne orans patrem fratri irascaris. III. Etiam omni animi contusione uacuum esse debere. IV. De lauatione manuum. V. Apostrophe. VI. De expositis penulis. VII. De assidendo post orationem. VIII. De manibus elatis. 27. pauculorum C, paucorum AB quod ABC. 28. eu—angeliorum C.

lorum, sermones domini, parabolæ, exempla, præcepta! quot simul expunguntur officia! dei honor in patre, fidei testimonium in nomine, oblatio obsequii in uoluntate, commemoratio sepi in regno, petitio uitæ in pane, exomologesis debitorum in deprecatione, sollicitudo temptationum in postulatione tutelæ. quid mirum? deus solus docere potuit, quomodo se uellet orari. ab ipso igitur ordinata religio orationis et de spiritu ipsius iam tunc cum ex ore diuino ferretur, animata suo priuilegio ascendit in cælum commendans patri quæ filius docuit.

(x) Quoniam tamen dominus prospector humanarum necessitatum seorsum post traditam orandi disciplinam, PETITE, inquit, ET ACCIPIETIS, et sunt, quæ petantur pro circumstantia cuiusque, præmissa legitima et ordinaria oratione quasi fundamento, accedentium ius est desideriorum superstruendi extrinsecus petitiones, cum memoria tamen praeceptorum.

(xi) Ne quantum a præceptis, tantum ab auribus dei longe simus, memoria præceptorum uiam orationibus sternit ad cælum; quorum præcipuum est, ne prius ascendamus ad altare dei, quam, si quid discordiæ uel offensæ cum fratribus contraxerimus, resoluamus. quale est enim ad pacem dei accedere sine pace? ad remissionem debitorum cum retentione? quomodo placabit patrem iratus in fratrem, cum omnis ira ab initio interdicta sit nobis? nam et Ioseph dimittens

14] Matt. vii. 7; Luc. xi. 9. 22] Cf. Matt. v. 23, 24.

VIIII. De uultu. X. De osculo. XI. De stationibus. XII. De habitu feminarum. XIII. De uirginibus. XIIII. Responsio. XV. De genu ponendo. XVI. De loco. XVII. De tempore. XVIII. De fratrum digressu. XVIIII. De subiugendo psalmo. XX. De hostia spiritali quæ oratio sit. XXI. De ui et affectu orationis.

1. parabole A quod ABC. 3. fidei C, fides AB, obsequi A. 8. quomodo C, ut AB. 12. POSSE NON SUPER ADICERE, *inscribitur in* ABC. 13. tradita morandi A. 16. legitime A *corr.* 17. accedentium ius est C, accidentium ius est AB. 19. quantum B, quam AC, preceptis A. 21. NE ORANS PATREM FRATRI IRASCARIS. Ne prius ABC, altare dei C, dei altare AB. 23. offense A. 24. quale AC, quid B, recedere A *corr.* 27. iosef A.

fratres suos ad perducendum patrem, ET NE, inquit, IRASCAMINI IN UIA. nos scilicet monuit—alias enim uia cognominatur disciplina nostra—tum ne in uia orationis constituti ad patrem cum ira incedamus. exinde aperte dominus amplians legem iram in fratrem homicidio superponit. ne uerbo quidem malo permittit expungi: etiam si irascendum est, non ultra solis receptum, ut apostolus admonet. quam autem temerarium est aut diem sine oratione transigere, dum cessas fratri satisfacere, aut orationem perseuerante iracundia perdere?

(xii) Nec ab ira solummodo, sed omni omnino confusione animi libera esse debet orationis intentio de tali spiritu emissa qualis est spiritus ad quem mittitur. neque enim agnosci poterit spiritu sancto spiritus inquinatus aut tristis a laeto aut impeditus a libero. nemo aduersarium recipit, nemo nisi comparem suum admittit.

(xiii) Ceterum quæ ratio est, manibus quidem ablutis, spiritu uero sordente orationem obire, quando et ipsis manibus spiritales munditiæ sint necessariæ, ut a falso, a cæde, a sæuitia, a ueneficiis, ab idololatria ceterisque maculis, quæ spiritu conceptæ manuum opera transiguntur, puræ alleuentur? hae sunt ueræ munditiæ, non quas plerique superstitiose curant, ad omnem orationem, etiam cum a lauacro totius corporis ueniunt, aquam sumentes. id cum scrupulosius percontarer et rationem requirerem, comperi commemorationem esse Pilatum manus abluisse in domini deditione. nos dominum adoramus,

1] Gen. xlv. 24. 5] Cf. Matt. v. 21, 22. 8] Cf. Ep. iv. 26.

2. alias AB, Helias C. 8. ammonet A. 10. an dum C. 12. ETIAM OMNI ANIMI CONFUSIONE (CONTUSIONE C) VACVVM ESSE DEBERE (om. C): nec (ne A) ABC: contusione C. 13. esse debet C, debet esse AB. 14. est spiritus ad quem (*in ras.*) C: emititur C. 16. spiritu AB, a spiritu Gel. 19. DE LAVATIONE MANUUM ABC. 21. spirituales C. 22. cede C. 22. seuitia C: beneficiis C: idolatria C. 24. opere C. 25. uere A. 27. ueniunt *del.* Gel: ad aquam C: scrupulose AB. 29. omnememorationen A: a *om.* AB, Gel. 29. Pilatum manus abluisse (Reiff. et Wissowa): pilati manus abluisse C, *om.* AB: deditione C, dedicationem AB: deditionem Gel.

non dedimus, immo et aduersari debemus deditoris exemplo nec propterea manus abluere. nisi ob aliquod conuersationis humanæ inquinamentum conscientiæ causa lauemus, ceterum satis mundæ sunt manus, quas cum toto corpore in Christo semel lauimus.

(xiv) Omnibus licet membris lauet quotidie Israel, numquam tamen mundus est. certe manus eius semper inmundæ, sanguine prophetarum et ipsius domini incrustatæ in æternum ; et ideo conscientia patrum hereditarii rei nec attollere eas ad dominum audent, ne exclamet aliquis Eseias, ne exhorreat Christus. nos uero non attollimus tantum, sed etiam expandimus, et dominicam passionem modulantes et orantes confitemur Christo.

(xv) Sed quoniam unum aliquod attigimus uacuae observationis, non pigebit cetera quoque denotare, quibus merito uanitas exprobranda est, siquidem sine ullius aut dominici aut apostolici præcepti auctoritate fiunt. huiusmodi enim non religioni, sed superstitioni deputantur, affectata et coacta et curiosi potius quam rationalis officii, certe uel eo cœrcenda, quod gentilibus adæquent. ut est quorundam expositis pænulis orationem facere ; sic enim adeunt ad idola nationes. quod utique si fieri oporteret, apostoli, qui de habitu orandi docent, comprehendissent ; nisi si qui putant Paulum pænulam suam in oratione penes Carpum reliquisse. deus scilicet non audiat pænulatos, qui tres sanctos in fornace Babylonii regis orantes cum sarabaris et tiaris suis exaudiuit.

26] Cf. 2 Tim. iv. 13. 28] Dan. iii. 21.

1. dedimus AB, dicimus C. 2. ob aliqđ C, quod AB. 5. lauemus *om.* AB. 6. APOSTROPHE BC, APOSTROFE A cottidie C. 9. incrustatæ C, cruentatæ AB. 10. dm̃ A esaias BC : exorreat C *corr.* 13. dominica passione ABC : modulantes B, modulatum AC. 15. attingimus C. 16. pigebat C. 17. exprobanda A *corr.* et siquidem AB sine AB, si C. 19. definiunt C. 21. cohercenda C. 22. adæquent. DE EXPOSITIS PENULIS (PĘNULIS A) ABC : positis Gel : penulis C. 24. si *om.* C : oportere C : apostoli qui C, apostoliq : A, apostoli quæ B. 26. penulam C. 27. penulatos AC : babylonis C. 29. sarabaris Gel : sabaris ABC : tiariis C, tyaris AB.

(xvi) Item quod adsignata oratione assidendi mos est quibusdam, non perspicio rationem, nisi quam pueri uolunt. quid enim, si Hermas ille, cuius scriptura fere pastor inscribitur, transacta oratione non super lectum assedisset, uerum aliud quid fecisset, id quoque ad obseruationem uindicaremus? utique non. simpliciter enim et nunc positum est, CUM ADORASSEM ET ASSEDISSEM SUPER LECTUM, ad ordinem narrationis, non ad instar disciplinæ. alioquin nusquam erit adorandum, nisi ubi fuerit lectus. immo contra scripturam fecerit, si quis in cathedra aut subsellio sederit. porro cum perinde faciant nationes adoratis sigillaribus suis residendo, uel propterea in nobis reprehendi meretur, quod apud idola celebratur. eo apponitur et inreuerentiæ crimen, etiam ipsis nationibus, si quid saperent, intellegendum. si quidem inreuerens est assidere sub conspectu contraque conspectum eius quem cum maxime reuerearis ac uenereris, quanto magis sub conspectu dei uiui angelo adhuc orationis adstante factum istud inreligiosissimum est? nisi exprobramus deo, quod nos oratio fatigauerit.

(xvii) Atquin cum modestia et humilitate adorantes magis commendabimus deo preces nostras ne ipsis quidem manibus sublimius elatis, sed temperate ac probe elatis, ne uultu quidem in audaciam erecto. nam et ille publicanus, qui non tantum prece, sed et uultu humiliatus atque deiectus orabat, IUSTIFICATIOR PHARISÆO PROCACISSIMO DISCESSIT. sonos etiam uocis subiectos esse oportet, aut quantis arteriis opus est, si pro sono audiamur? deus autem non uocis, sed

8] Herm. Past. vis. v. 1. 20] Cf. Luc. i. 11. 29] Luc. xviii. 14.

1. DE ASSIDENDO POST ORATIONEM ABC : assignata C. 2. perspici orationem BC : quam pueri uolunt. 3. quid enim *om.* AB. 8. sedissem C. 9. nos C. 12. proinde C : uel adoratis ABC : vel *del.* Gel. 14. deprehendi C. 16. saperet C. 18. cum. B, quam. A, *om.* C. 20. astante C. 23. DE MANIBUS ELATIS ABC : commendauimus AC, commendamus B. 26. DE UULTU ne uultu ABC. 26. recto C et *om.* C. 28. humilis C. 29. discessit. DE SONO VOCIS ABC : sono C. 30. esse *om.* AC. 31. audimur C.

cordis auditor est, sicut conspector. dæmonium oraculi Pythii, ET MUTUM, inquit, INTELLEGO ET NON LOQUENTEM EXAUDIO. dei aures sonum expectant? quomodo ergo ératio Ionæ de imo uentre ceti per tantæ bestiæ uiscera ab ipsis abyssis per tantam æquoris molem ad cælum potuit euadere? quid amplius referent isti qui clarius adorant, nisi quod proximis obstrepunt? immo prodendo petitiones suas quid minus faciunt, quam si in publico orent?

(xviii) Alia iam consuetudo inualuit. ieiunantes habita oratione cum fratribus subtrahunt osculum pacis, quod est signaculum orationis. quando autem magis conferenda cum fratribus pax est, nisi cum operantis oratio commendabilior ascendit, ut ipsi de nostra operatione participent, qua maduerint de sua pace fratri transigendo? quæ oratio cum diuortio sancti osculi integra? quem domino officium facientem impedit pax? quale sacrificium est a quo sine pace disceditur? quæcumque oratio sit, non erit potior præcepti obseruatione, quo iubemur ieiunia nostra celare. iam enim de abstinentia osculi agnoscimur ieiunantes. sed et si qua ratio est, ne tamen huic præcepto reus sis, potes domi, si forte, inter quos latere ieiunium in totum non datur, differre pacem. ubicumque autem alibi operationem tuam abscondere potes, debes meminisse præcepti; ita et disciplinæ foris et consuetudini domi satisfacies. sic et die paschæ, quo communis et quasi publica ieiunii religio est, merito deponimus osculum, nihi curantes de occultando quod cum omnibus faciamus.

2] Herod i. 47.

2. phythii A. 3. dŝ C: imo *om.* AB. 4. cœti C: abys. *sic* A. 7. referẽ C. 11. DE OSCULO ABC. 13. quanto C. 15. operantis oratio (Reiff. et Wissowa): operationis, cum oratio C, oratione AB. 16. qua maduerint C, quam auderent AB. transigend C, transigendus A, transigere B. 20. disceditur C, receditur AB: oratio AB, ratio C. 24. præcepto reus sis C, præceptore ussis A, præceptor tu sis B. si *om.* B. in *om.* C. 28. foris Gel. iuris ABC: satisfaci etc. C. 30. ieiuniis C. 31. occultando C, oscultando A osculando B.

(xix) Similiter et de stationum diebus non putant plerique sacrificiorum orationibus interueniendum, quod statio soluenda sit accepto corpore domini. ergo deuotum deo obsequium eucharistia resoluit an magis deo obligat ? nonne sollemnior erit statio tua, si et ad aram dei steteris ? accepto corpore domini et reseruato utrumque saluum est, et participatio sacrificii et executio officii. si statio de militari exemplo nomen accepit (nam et militia dei sumus), utique nulla lætitia siue tristitia obueniens castris stationes militum rescindit. nam lætitia libentius, tristitia sollicitius administrabit disciplinam.

(xx) De habitu uero dumtaxat feminarum uarietas obseruationis effecit post sanctissimum apostolum nos uel maxime nullius loci homines impudenter retractare, nisi quod non impudenter, si secundum apostolum retractemus. de modestia quidem cultus et ornatus aperta præscriptio est etiam Petri, cohibentis eodem ore, quia eodem et spiritu, quo Paulus, et uestium gloriam et auri superbiam et crinium lenonem operositatem.

(xxi) Sed quod promisce obseruatur per ecclesias quasi incertum, id retractandum est, uelarine debeant uirgines, an non. qui enim uirginibus indulgent capitis immunitatem, hoc niti uidentur, quod apostolus non uirgines nominatim, sed mulieres designauerit uelandas esse, nec sexum, ut diceret feminas, sed gradum sexus, dicendo mulieres. nam si sexum nominasset, feminas dicendo, absolute definisset de omni muliere, at cum unum gradum sexus nominat,

9] Cf. 2 Tim. 3, 4. 17] 1 Peter iii. 3.

1. De stationibus BC, de Testionib. A et de C, de B nos C. 3. stationi A *corr.* 5. sollempnior C. 6. etiam C. 7. utrunque BC. 8. exsecutio BC. 9. accepit C, accipit AB. 10. sine B. 12. administrauit C disciplinam] *hic deficit* B, *in ipso codice lacunæ nullum indicium fuisse uidetur ; sequitur enim* Libri Tertulliani de Ora-/tione finis. 13. De habitu feminarum AC habitu . . . A duntaxat C : fæminarum A. 14. efficit A. 19. more AC quo Paulus *om.* A. 20. criminum C, morositatem C. 22. De Virginibus AC : præmisce AC, quasi C, quas A. 29. diffinisset C, at X : aut C.

alium tacendo secernit. potuit enim, inquiunt, aut et uirgines nominare specialiter aut compendio generaliter feminas.

(xxii) Qui ita concedunt, recogitare debent de statu uocabuli ipsius. quid est mulier a primis quidem litteris sanctorum commentariorum? iam inueniunt sexus esse nomen, non gradum sexus; siquidem Euam nondum uirum expertam deus mulierem et feminam cognominauit, feminam, qua sexus generaliter, mulierem, qua gradus sexus specialiter. ita quoniam tunc innupta adhuc Eua mulieris uocabulo fuit, commune id uocabulum et uirgini factum est. nec mirum, si apostolus eodem utique spiritu actus, quo cum omnis scriptura diuina, tum et illa Genesis digesta est, eadem uoce usus est mulierem ponendo, quæ exemplo Euæ innuptæ et uirgini competat. cetera denique consonant. nam et hoc ipso, quod uirgines non nominauit, sicut alio in loco, ubi de nubendo docet, satis prædicat de omni muliere et de toto sexu dictum, nec distinctum esse inter mulierem et uirginem, quam omnino non nominat. qui enim alibi distinguere meminit, ubi scilicet differentia postulat (distinguit autem utramque speciem suis uocabulis designans), ubi non distinguit, dum utramque non nominat, nullam uult differentiam intellegi. quid? quod Græco sermone, quo litteras apostolus fecit, usui est mulieres uocare quam feminas, id est γυναῖκας quam θηλείας. igitur si pro sexus nomine uocabulum istud frequentatur, quod est in interpretatione pro eo quod est femina, sexum nominauit, dicens γυναῖκα. in sexu autem et uirgo contingitur. sed et manifesta pronuntiatio est:

14] Cf. 2 Tim. iii. 16.

4. Responsio C, contendunt X. 5. qđ. C. 6. iam (*aut* eam) X: nam C grad C. 10. qua C, itaq. iam C: cum. innupta X. 11. ęua C, experta C. 14. diuina tum X: diuinitatū C. 16. euæ C. 17. consonant X: ñ sonant C. 20. mulierem et *add* X. 21. quam omnino X: omnino C. 23, 24. utranque C. 25. intelligi C. 26. greco C. 27. tam feminas Murat. γυναῖκας C. 28, Θηλείας C. 31. γυναῖκα C. 32, continetur X.

OMNIS, inquit, MULIER ADORANS ET PROPHETANS INTECTO CAPITE DEDECORAT CAPUT SUUM. quid est omnis mulier, nisi omnis ætatis, omnis ordinis, omnis condicionis ? nihil mulieris excipit dicendo omnis, sicut nec uiri nec uelandi ; perinde enim omnis uir inquit. sicut ergo in masculino sexu sub uiri nomine etiam inuestis uelari uetatur, ita et in feminino sub nomine mulieris etiam uirgo uelari iubetur. æqualiter in utroque sexu minor ætas maioris sequatur disciplinam, aut uelentur et uirgines masculi, si non uelantur et uirgines feminæ, quia nec isti nominatim tenentur ; aliud sit uir et inuestis, si aliud est mulier et uirgo. nempe propter angelos ait uelari oportere, quod angeli propter filias hominum desciuerunt a deo. quis ergo contendat solas mulieres, id est nuptas iam et uirginitate defunctas, concupiscentiæ esse, nisi si non licet et uirgines specie præstare et amatores inuenire ? immo uideamus, ne uirgines solas concupierint, cum dicat scriptura FILIAS HOMINUM, quia potuit uxores hominum nominasse uel feminas indifferenter. etiam quod ait : ET ACCEPERUNT SIBI IN UXORES, eo facit, quod accipiuntur in uxores quæ uacant scilicet. de non uacantibus autem aliter enuntiasset. itaque uacant tam uiduitate quam et uirginitate. adeo sexum nominando generaliter filias, et species in genere commiscuit. item cum dicit naturam ipsam docere uelandum feminis esse, quæ capillum pro tegumento et ornamento mulieribus assignarit, nonne idem tegumentum et idem honor capitis uirginibus quoque adscriptus est ? si muliere turpe est radi, et uirgini perinde. in quibus ergo una condicio capitis deputatur, una et disciplina capitis

1] 1 Cor. xi. 5. 21] Gen. vi. 2. 30] Cf. 1 Cor. xi. 6. 13] 1 Cor. xi. 10. 27] Cf. 1 Cor. xi. 14, 15.

2. dedecorat C. 3. ordinas C *corr.* 4, conditionis C. 5. uiri Murat : uir C perinde : proinde C. 7. uelari uetatur Murat : uelare uertatur C. 12. et *add.* Murat. 16. uirginitate C : uirginitati Murat. concupisci X, esse *add.* Reiff. et Wissowa. 18. uidemus C ne] quod non Murat. 23. uacat C *corr.* 24. utique X. 25. filias *del.* X. 27. feminas uelandas Murat. 30. ascriptus C. 31. perinde Murat : proinde C.

exigitur, etiam ad eas uirgines, quas pueritia defendit ; a primo enim femina nominata est. sic denique et Israel obseruat. sed si non obseruaret, nostra lex ampliata atque suppleta defenderet sibi adiectionem. uirginibus quoque iniciens uelamentum excusetur. Nunc ætas, quæ sexum suum ignorat, simplicitatis priuilegium teneat. nam et Eva et Adam, ubi eis contigit sapere, texerunt statim quod agnouerant. certe in quibus iam pueritia mutauit, sicut naturæ, ita et disciplinæ debet ætas esse munifica. nam et membris et officiis mulieribus resignantur. nulla uirgo est ex quo potest nubere, quoniam ætas iam in ea nupsit suo uiro, id est tempori. sed aliqua se deo uouit. tamen et crinem exinde transfigurat et omnem habitum ad mulieris conuertit. totum ergo asseueret et totum uirginis præstet : quod propter deum abscondit, plene obumbret. interest nostra, quod dei gratia exerceatur, solius dei conscientiæ commendare, ne, quod a deo speramus, ab homine compensemus. quid denudas ante deum quod ante homines tegis ? uerecundior eris in publico quam in ecclesia ? si dei gratia est, ET ACCEPISTI, QUID GLORIARIS, inquit, QUASI NON ACCEPERIS ? quid alias ostentatione tui iudicas ? an alias gloria tua ad bonum inuitas ? atqui et ipsa periclitaris amittere, si gloriaris, et alias ad eadem pericula cogis. facile eluditur quod affectione gloriæ assumitur. uelare uirgo, si uirgo es ; debes enim erubescere. si uirgo es, plures oculos pati noli. nemo miretur in tuam faciem ; nemo mendacium tuum sentiat. bene mentiris nuptam, si caput ueles. Immo mentiri non uideris ; nupsisti enim Christo. illi carnem tuam tradidisti, age pro

7] Cf. Gen. iii. 7. 22] 1 Cor. iv. 7.

8. texuerunt Murat. 9. iam *om.* Murat. 14. tamen] iam Murat. 15. mulieres C *corr.* 16. prestet C. 17. plane Murat. 18. exerceatur (Reiff. et Wissowa) : exerceat C, exerceamus X. 21. eclesia C. 23. ostentatione Murat : ostentione C. 25. amittere Murat : admittere C. 26. eadem Murat : eidẽ C. pericula Murat : periculis C. eluditur : Reiff. et Wissowa : eligitur C.

mariti tui disciplina. si nuptas alienas uelari iubet, suas utique multo magis. sed non puta institutionem uniuscuiusque antecessoris commouendam, multi alienæ consuetudini prudentiam suam et constantiam eius addicunt. ne compellantur uelari, certe uoluntarias prohiberi non oportet ; quæ se etiam uirgines negare non possunt, concedo abuti in fama sua conscientiæ apud deum securitate. de illis tamen, quæ sponsis dicantur, constanter super meum modulum pronuntiare contestarique possum uelandas ex ea die esse qua ad primum uiri corpus osculo et dextera expauerint. omnia enim in his prænupserunt, et ætas per maturitatem, et caro per ætatem, et spiritus per conscientiam, et pudor per osculi experimentum, et spes per expectationem, et mens per uoluntatem. satisque nobis exemplo Rebecca est, quæ sponso demonstrato tantum notitiæ eius nubendo uelata est.

(xxiii) De genu quoque ponendo uarietatem obseruationis patitur oratio per pauculos quosdam qui sabbato abstinent genibus. quæ dissensio cum maxime apud ecclesias causam dicit, dominus dabit gratiam suam, ut aut cedant aut sine aliorum scandalo sententia sua utantur. nos uero, sicut accepimus, solo die dominicæ resurrectionis non ab isto tantum, sed omni anxietatis habitu et officio cauere debemus differentes etiam negotia, ne quem diabolo locum demus. tantundem et spatio Pentecostes, quæ eadem exultationis sollemnitate dispungitur. ceterum omni die quis dubitet prosternere se deo uel prima saltem oratione qua lucem ingredimur ? ieiuniis autem et stationibus nulla oratio sine genu et reliquo humilitatis

26] Eph. iv. 27.

2. puta *uel* putat *ex* putet C, institutione C. 3. uniuscuiusque Murat: unusquisque. C. 7. concedo (Reiff. et Wissowa), contenti C, contentæ Murat. suæ Murat. 17. demonstrato Murat : demonstratum C. notitiæ (Reiff. et Wissowa), notitia C. 18. De genu ponendo C. 20. gentibus C *corr.*, eclesias C. 21. dič C, dicat Murat. 24. dominico Murat. 25. officio X : officia C. 27. quo X. 28. sollemnitate dispungitur C : sollemnitas est, dispungimus Murat, sollemnitate dispungimur X. 29. salutem C. *corr.*

more celebranda est. non enim oramus tantum, sed et deprecamur et satisfacimus deo domino nostro. de temporibus orationis nihil omnino præscriptum est, nisi plane omni in tempore et loco orare.

(xxiv) Sed quomodo omni loco, cum prohibeamur in publico ? OMNI, inquit, LOCO, quem opportunitas aut etiam necessitas importarit. neque enim contra præceptum reputatur ab apostolis factum, qui in carcere audientibus custodiis orabant et canebant deo, aut a Paulo, qui in naui coram omnibus eucharistiam fecit.

(xxv) De tempore uero non erit otiosa extrinsecus obseruatio etiam horarum quarundam, istarum dico communium quæ diei interspatia signant, tertia, sexta, nona, quas sollemniores in scripturis inuenire est. primus spiritus sanctus congregatis discipulis hora tertia infusus est. Petrus, qua die uisionem communitatis omnis in illo uasculo expertus est, sexta hora orandi gratia ascenderat in superiora. idem cum Iohanne ad nonam in templum adibat, ubi paralyticum sanitati reformauit. quæ etsi simpliciter se habent sine ullius obseruationis præcepto, bonum tamen sit aliquam constituere præsumptionem, quæ et orandi admonitionem constringat et quasi lege ad tale munus extorqueat a negotiis interdum, ut, quod Danieli quoque legimus obseruatum utique ex Israelis disciplina, ne minus ter die saltem adoremus, debitores trium Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti ; exceptis utique legitimis orationibus, quæ sine ulla admonitione debentur ingressu lucis et noctis. sed et cibum non prius sumere et lauacrum non prius adire quam

6] 1 Tim. ii. 8. 9] Cf. Acts xvi. 25. 10] Cf. Acts xxvii. 35. 16] Cf. Acts ii. 15. 19] Cf. Acts x. 9. 20] Cf. Acts iii. 1. 26] Cf. Dan. vi. 10.

5. De loco C. 6. oportunitas C. 7. importaret. Non Murat. 10. aut a Paulo Murat : apud Paulum C. 12. De tempore C : crit . . . C extrinsecus . . . C. 13. orarum C. 14. interspacia C : 15. sollempniores C. 18. communicatis C. 21. paraliticum C. 21. quæ etsi X : suæ etsi C. 22. habeant Murat : sine Murat : si C. 23. sit Murat : si C. 23. qua C. 26. daniheli C. 26. Israhelis C. 28. trium *om.* Murat.

interposita oratione fideles decet. priora enim habenda sunt spiritus refrigeria et pabula quam carnis, quia priora cælestia quam terrena.

(xxvi) Fratrem domum tuam introgressum ne sine oratione dimiseris (UIDISTI, inquit, FRATREM, UIDISTI DOMINUM TUUM), maxime aduenam, ne angelus forte sit. sed nec ipse a fratribus exceptus priora fecerit refrigeria terrena cælestibus. statim enim indicabitur fides tua. aut quomodo secundum præceptum PAX HUIC DOMUI dices, nisi et eis qui in domo sunt pacem mutuam reddas?

(xxvii) Diligentiores in orando subiungere in orationibus Alleluia solent et hoc genus psalmos quorum clausulis respondeant qui simul sunt. et est optimum utique institutum omne quod præponendo et honorando deo conpetit saturatam orationem uelut opimam hostiam admouere.

(xxviii) Haec est enim hostia spiritalis quæ pristina sacrificia deleuit. QUO MIHI, inquit, MULTITUDINEM SACRIFICIORUM UESTRORUM? PLENUS SUM HOLOCAUSTOMATUM ARIETUM ET ADIPEM AGNORUM ET SANGUINEM TAURORUM ET HIRCORUM NOLO. QUIS ENIM REQUISIUIT ISTA DE MANIBUS UESTRIS? quæ ergo quæsierit deus euangelium docet. ueniet hora, inquit, CUM UERI ADORATORES ADORABUNT PATREM IN SPIRITU ET UERITATE. DEUS ENIM SPIRITUS EST, et adoratores itaque tales requirit. nos sumus ueri adoratores et ueri sacerdotes, qui spiritu orantes spiritu sacrificamus orationem hostiam dei propriam et acceptabilem, quam scilicet requisiuit, quam sibi prospexit. hanc de toto corde deuotam, fide pastam, ueritate curatam, innocentia integram, castitate

5] Resch. Agrapha., No. 144 (L. 65.) 6] Cf. Heb. xiii. 2. 10] Luc. x. 5. 15] Cf. Ps. xvi. 8. 19] Es. i. 11, 12. 25] Joh. iv. 23, 24.

2. quia] et Murat. 4. DE FRM DIGRESSU C. 7. exceptus X: exeptis C, exemtis Murat. 10. domu C. 12. DE SUBIUNGENDO PSALMO C. 15. proponendo Murat. 16. opimam X: optimam C. 18. DE HOSTIA SPIRITALI QUIA ORATIO SIT C. 21. adipē C. 31. sastam C *corr.*

mundam, agapen coronatam cum pompa operum bonorum inter psalmos et hymnos deducere ad dei altare debemus omnia nobis a deo impetraturam.

(xxix) Quid enim orationi de spiritu et ueritate uenienti negabit deus, qui eam exigit? legimus et audimus et cernimus quanta documenta efficaciæ eius! uetus quidem oratio et ab ignibus et a bestiis et ab inedia liberabat et tamen non a Christo acceperat formam. ceterum quanto amplius operatur oratio Christiana! non roris angelum in mediis ignibus sistit nec ora leonibus obstruit nec esurientibus rusticorum prandium transfert, nullum sensum passionis delegata gratia auertit, sed patientes et sentientes et dolentes sufferentia instruit, uirtute ampliat gratiam, ut sciat fides, quid a domino consequatur, intellegens quid pro dei nomine patiatur. sed et retro oratio plagas irrogabat, fundebat hostium exercitus, imbrium utilia prohibebat. nunc uero oratio iustitiæ omnem iram dei auertit, pro inimicis excubat, pro persequentibus supplicat. mirum si aquas cælestes extorquere nouit, quæ potuit et ignes impetrare? sola est oratio quæ deum uincit; sed Christus eam nihil mali uoluit operari. omnem illi uirtutem de bono contulit. itaque nihil nouit, nisi defunctorum animas de ipso mortis itinere reuocare, debiles reformare, ægros remediare dæmoniacos expiare, claustra carceris aperire, uincula innocentium soluere. eadem diluit delicta, temptationes repellit, persecutiones extinguit, pusillanimos consolatur, magnanimos oblectat, peregrinantes deducit, fluctus mitigat, latrones obstupefacit, alit pauperes, regit diuites, lapsos erigit, cadentes suspendit, stantes continet. oratio murus est fidei, arma et tela nostra aduersus hostem, qui nos undique obseruat. itaque numquam inermes incedamus. die

10] Song of the Three Children, 26, 27.
11] Cf. Daniel vi. 22. 13] Bel and the Dragon, 33, 34.

1. agapen (Reiff. et Wissowa) : agape C. pompa C. 4. De vi et affectu orationis C. 5. negabit X : negauit C. 6. cernimus X : credimus C. 9. operatur X : oratur C, oratio X. 10. angelum duntaxat Murat. 12. nec ullum X, 13. deligata C. 15. gratiam *del.* X : dõ C. 19. excubat C, 20. et mirum X. 23. uoluit X : nouit C. 25. reuocare X : uocare C. 26. demoniacos C. 27, innocentum C *corr.* 28. temptationis C *corr.* 33. hostem X : hominem C. 34. nunquam C, incidamus C.

stationis, nocte uigiliæ meminerimus. sub armis orationis signum nostri imperatoris custodiamus, tubam angeli expectemus orantes. orant etiam angeli omnes, orat omnes creatura, orant pecudes et feræ et genua declinant et egredientes de stabulis ac speluncis ad cælum non otioso ore suspiciunt uibrantes spiritum suo more. sed et aues mane exurgentes eriguntur ad cælum et alarum crucem pro manibus expandunt et dicunt aliquid quod oratio uideatur. quid ergo amplius de officio orationis ? etiam ipse dominus orauit, cui sit honor et uirtus in sæcula sæculorum.

6. otioso Murat : otiosi C : suspiciunt Murat, suscipiunt C, spiritum suo more X : spū suo mouere C. 7. mane (Reiff. et Wissowa) : nunc C, nido X. 8. extendunt Murat.

NOTES

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(i) **Dei Spiritus.** The Divine Nature of our Lord is called the Spirit by many of the Fathers not as confusing Him with God the Holy Spirit ; but because " God is a Spirit " (St. John iv. 24).

Elsewhere Tertullian speaks of Christ as God's Spirit (*Apol.*, XXI) : Hunc ex Deo prolatum dedicimus et prolatione generatum et idcirco filium Dei et Deum dictum ex unitate substantiæ. Nam et Deus Spiritus. Comp. also *Adu. Prax.*, XXVIII ; *Adu. Marc.*, III, 6. Yet, he clearly distinguishes the three Persons of the Trinity. *De Pudicit.*, XXI : Trinitas unius diuinitatis, Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus.

Compare also the following who call the Divine Nature of our Lord the Spirit : St. Clement of Rome, *Ep.*, II, 9 : *ἐι χριστὸς ὁ κύριος, ὁ σώσας ἡμᾶς, ὢν μὲν τὸ πρῶτον πνεῦμα* ; St. Hilary of Poitiers, *De Trinitate*, IX. 14 : Qui cum se euacuauerit, ut manens spiritus Christus idem Christus homo esset, and Hermas, *Simil.*, III. 5 ; Cyprian, *De Orat., Dom.* I.

et Dei sermo et Dei ratio. Tertullian knew well that the Greek word λόγος (St. John. i. 1) could not adequately be translated by one word in Latin. He therefore gives two readings, " sermo " and " ratio." In the *Apol.* XXI, he says : apud uestros quoque sapientes λόγον id est sermonem atque rationem. Compare also *Adu. Prax.*, V : Hunc Græci λόγον dicunt, quo uocabulo etiam sermonem appellamus. In his controversy with Praxeas, Tertullian found it necessary to develop more fully the doctrine of a substantial pre-existing λόγος who appeared in Christ as a man. He supposed that the Supreme Being, as the

original type, must be thought of according to the analogy of the human spirit, which is the image of God.

As the reason dwells in the spirit of man, and speech is the reason, by which it afterwards reveals itself, so is this originally in God as "ratio" or reason; but the revelation of this is already prepared in the creation, by which the "ratio" becomes "sermo," since before the whole creation the λόγος emanates into substantiality as the creating reason, by which the Divine ideas existing in the "ratio" become realized.

Tertullian, alluding to the coming of Christ, speaks of Him as follows: *Apol.*, XXIII: ut Dei Uirtus et Dei Spiritus, et sermo, et sapientia, et ratio, et Dei Filius.

Noui testamenti. Testamentum, which, as it means "will and testament," is an exact translation of the everyday sense of διαθήκη, but an incorrect rendering of the Biblical sense. In the LXX, and in the New Testament, for instance: Exod. xxiv. 7, Deut. ix. 9, 2 Cor. iii. 4, the word is employed in the sense of συνθήκη, "a covenant" or "compact" between God and man, especially when regarded on the Godward side. Tertullian, who did so much to create a Latin Christian terminology, sometimes represents Scripture by the word "instrumentum," a legal term meaning a document drawn up in proper (legal) form. It occurs in the *Apology*, XLVII: uetus instrumentum; *De Cult. Fem.*, I, 3: instrumentum iudaicæ litteraturæ.

The New Testament is called in *Adu. Marc.*, IV, 2: euangelicum instrumentum; *De Resurr. Carn.*, XXXIX: apostolica instrumenta; *Apol.*, XLVII: nouicola paratura.

The whole Bible is: *De Ieiun.*, XI: utriusque testamenti paratura.

in hac quoque specie. "In this sphere also." The word "species" has the meaning of "subdivision" in *De Bapt.*, IV: etiam in speciem redundat. So also *De Idololat.*, I: suam speciem tenet unum quodque delictum.

quicquid retro. Retro is used as an equivalent for olim. So also in XXIX: et retro plagas irogabat. Compare

De Test. Anim., v: retro non fuerunt; *De Spect.*, ix: res equestris retro simplex de dorso agebatur; *De Bapt.*, v: qui retro ad imaginem dei fuerat; *ib.*, xiii: fuerit salus retro per fidem; *Apol.*, iii: quis retro nouerant, retro patiens. Cf. also *ib.*, xviii.

Retrosiores is found in *Apol.*, xix.

Retro is used as an Adjective a few lines below in this chapter. Compare *De Bapt.*, xx: Cum confessione omnium retro delictorum.

superducto. Superducere = superaddere.

expunctore. The phrase expunctore totius retro uetustatis means that the Gospel obliterated or fulfilled (or obliterated by fulfilling) the whole of past antiquity. The best translation is, I think, "obliterator." This meaning of expungere—expunctor, comes from the custom of the officer with the list of those to be punished or awarded crossing their names as the appointed sentence was discharged or the decoration awarded. Instances of the former use of the word may be found in *Apol.*, ii, and of the latter in *De Coron. Milit.*, i. More frequently Tertullian uses it in the simple sense of fulfil, accomplish, perform, e.g.: *Apol.*, xv, xxi, xxxv; *Ad Nat.*, i, 7; *Scorp.*, xi; *De Resurr. Carn.*, xli; *De Anim.*, xlix. In *De Orat.*, ix, it means "set forth." In the present passage Tertullian evidently has both the ideas in his mind of abolition and fulfilment. The Gospel abolished circumcision, fulfilled the law and perfected faith; but as regards antiquitas, it obliterated it by the "renovation of all things."

præministri. In the *De Baptismo*, vi, John the Baptist is described as antecursor, where Tertullian is quoting from Matthew iii. 3: si enim Ioannes antecursor domini fuit, preparans uias eius. Compare *Adu. Marc.*, iv, 11: Nihil omnino administrasset Ioannes, secundum Esaiam (Isa. xl. 3) uociferator in solitudinem et præparator uiarum domini per renuntiationem et laudationem pœnitentiæ, *Adu. Marc.*, iv, 33: Ioannes antecursor et preparator ostenditur uiarum domini.

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benedicti, i.e. the catechumens—candidates for Baptism: *De Bapt.*, XX: benedicti, quos gratia dei expectat. Compare also *Ad Martyr.*, Chs. I, II, V.

conspectum et auditum. Compare *Apol.*, XVII: Deus uidet, deo commendo, et deus mihi reddet.

in abditum adesse. The Accusative for Ablative. This case, according to Sittl. (Quoted in Hopper: *Syntax und Stil d. Tertull.*, p. 41), occurs first among the African writers. Compare also *Adu. Hermog.*, XIX: in finem Deus fecit cælum et terram; *De Idololat.*, XV: idololatriam in nominis causam esse.

breuiarium totius euangelii comprehendatur: Compare Cypr., *De Orat. Dom.*, IX: ut nihil omnino prætermissum sit, quod non in precibus atque orationibus nostris, cælestis doctrinæ compendio comprehendatur; also Ambrose, *De Iustit. Uirg.*, III: Dominica oratio omnia comprehendit.

orationis officia propria. "Special duties of prayer." It was from the conception of prayer as a duty that public prayer itself came to be called "officium."

The word "officium" is a favourite word with Tertullian. It occurs again in Chs. III: officium futuræ claritatis; IX: expunguntur officia; XV: Rationilis officii; XVIII: domino officium facientem; XIX: executio officii; XXII: membris et officii; XXIX: de officio orationis, and elsewhere, e.g.: *Apol.*, XI: officii diuinis; *De Bapt.*, XVII: episcopis officium; *Ad Uxor.*, II, 3: officia sexus; *De Anim.*, XL: in officia uitæ; *Apol.*, XXXIX: de religionis officio. See also *De Anim.*, XXXVII; *De Ieiun.*, II, XI; *Ad Uxor.*, I, 4.

(ii) **commendamus,** commendare (= probare) means in Tertullian set forth or bring out: e.g. *De Resurr. Carn.*, V, XXVIII; *De Anim.*, II, XXVII; *De Pall.*, IV; *Adu. Marc.*, V, 10. In Ch. XXII commendare = to commend.

frequentissime, a rare word. Cyprian never uses the comp. and superl. of frequenter, sæpius and sæpissime always.

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appellatio ista. Iste = hic, and frequently in Tertullian. It is common in Latin of this period for hic and sometimes ille (Koffmane, *Geschichte. d. Kirchenlateins*, I, II, p. 137).

Comp. *De Baptismo*, I: digestum istud, istud; *ib.*, V: figura ista medicinæ corporalis; *Apol.*, VII: census istius disciplinæ; *ib.*, XXI: elidimus antiquissimis Iudæorum instrumentis sectam istam; *ib.*, XLVIII: operantibus æmulationem istam; *ib.*, XXXIX: inopes quisque refrigerio isto iuuamus; *De Idololat*, XIX: in isto capitulo.

pietatis et potestatis. This point about the meaning of pater may be illustrated by an earlier remark in the *Apology*, that pater was a more welcome title to human authorities than dominus, since it had associations of affection, *Apology*, XXXIV: Sed est gratius est nomen pietatis quam potestatis; etiam familiæ magis patres quam domini uocantur.

Ego et Pater unum sumus (John x. 30). In this brief utterance we find a full and satisfactory refutation of both Arianism and Sabellianism. The plural word emphasizes the distinction of Persons, while the neuter (unum) brings out the truth which the Church has expressed in saying that "the Son is of one substance with the Father," that is, partakes of His eternal and essential nature. The phrase in question occurs in Tertullian's treatise against Praxeas, where he quotes fully from St. John to show the distinction between the Father and the Son.

Adu. Prax., II: unum (in essence) sumus dicens, ego et Pater, ostendit duos esse. quos æquat et iungit. Tertullian, in order to defend himself from anything like Tritheism, lays down that the Son is "unius substantiæ"

with the Father. *Adu. Prax.*, II: nihilominus custodiatur οἰκονομίας sacramentum, quæ unitatem in trinitatem disponit, tres dirigens, Patrem et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, tres autem non statu sed gradu, nec substantiæ sed forma, nec potestatis sed specie, unius autem substantiæ et unius status et unius potestatis, quia unus Deus, ex quo et gradus isti et formæ et species in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti deputantur.

Tertullian is at last compelled to use the word Personæ: *Adu. Prax.*, VII. Compare also XII. The unity of the Godhead and the creation of the world and all things else by God the Father are asserted in the first article of the Creed which Tertullian gives—he gives the Creed in three distinct forms: *De Præscript. Hæret.*, XIII; *De Uirg. Ueland.*, I; *Adu. Prax.*, II.

ne mater quidem ecclesia præteritur . . . recognoscitur. Compare *De Monog.*, VII: uiuit enim unicus pater noster deus et mater Ecclesia.

Tertullian approves of Marcion, where following St. Paul he sees in Sarah as contrasted with Hagar, the covenant "which gendereth above all principality and power and dominion . . . which is our Mother and the Holy Church, to which we were pledged" (*Adu. Marc.*, V, 4).

Our author conceives of the Motherhood of the Church as corresponding upon earth to the Fatherhood of God in Heaven, as though without the agency of the Church we could not have the Fatherhood of God. It is through the Church that we become sons of God. Cypr., *De Cath. Eccl. Unit.*, V: Habere non potest Deum patrem, qui ecclesiam non habet matrem. Also *De Lapsis*, IX: illi nobis ecclesiam matrem, illi patrem Deum negauerunt.

Novatian, *De Trinitate*, XXIX, as much as Cyprian, saw in the Church the Bride of Christ, adorned with all spiritual gifts by the Holy Ghost, and preserved by Him uncorrupt and undefiled in the sanctity of everlasting virginity and truth.

No image is more frequently used to describe the Church than that of the Virgin Bride and Mother.

Clement of Alexandria, *Pæd.*, I, 42 : " One in the Father of all, and one the word of all, and the Holy Spirit in one and the selfsame everywhere, and one and one only in both Virgin and Mother. So I love to call the Church . . . undefiled as a virgin, loving as a Mother." The image, of course, had its origin both in the New Testament and in the Old. It was probably reflected in the Valentinian doctrine which made the ideal man and the ideal Church a wedded pair, from whose union great results proceeded. It connected itself with all mystical speculation about the relation between the male and female principles. Clement of Rome (*Ep.*, II, 4), after quoting Genesis i. 27, says : *τὸ ἄρσεν ἐστὶν ὁ χριστός, τὸ θῆλυ ἡ ἐκκλησία.*

Origen takes up the parable, " He who created man in His image at the beginning, being Himself in the form of God, and made him male and the Church female, and gave them both a oneness according to the image ; and for the sake of the Church the Lord her Husband, left His Father, whom He saw when He was in the form of God, and left also His Mother, being the son of Jerusalem which is above, and was joined unto His wife, His fallen wife here, and they two became here one flesh (because for her sake He also became flesh . . .) and they are now no more two, but one flesh, since it is said to the wife, 'Ye are the body of Christ and members in particular.' For Christ has no body of His own, apart from the Church which is His body." (Origen in *Matt.*, *Tom.* XIV, 17.) Compare also Irenæus, *Adu. Hær.*, III, 24 ; Euseb., *H.E.*, III, 22.

(iii) **quasi sit et alius :** " as if there were any other God."

Quasi is here used with an accessory hypothetical significance. Comp. *Apol.*, VIII : quasi hoc argumento baptismus adimatus.

It also expresses purpose—*De Orat.*, X : quasi fundamento. Compare *Apol.* I : quasi detrimento.

benedici deum omni loco ac tempore condecet : An allusion to the Preface in the Liturgy.

circumstantia : a græcism (=ἀντιπερίστασις), an "encircling band," is the meaning here. In *De Orat.*, x, it is used in the ordinary modern sense of the word : pro circumstantia cuiusque. Compare *De Bapt.*, xvii : circumstantia periclitantis ; *De Anim.*, xlvii : ex intentione circumstantiarum.

Adu. Ualent., xv : in tanta circumstantia.

Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus (Rev. iv. 8). The Triumphal Hymn, commonly called the "Tersanctus." See chapter on the African Liturgy, at the end of this treatise.

Candidati. Candidates for Holy Baptism. Tertullian, in *De Coron. Milit.*, vii, uses "Candidati diaboli" of the devil's suitors. Compare also *De Resurr. Carn.*, lviii : iam candidati æternitatis : "candidates for everlasting life."

etiam pro inimicis (Matt. v. 44). When Tertullian puts in these words, he means that the rest, who are to join the present members of the Church in hallowing God's name, are at present "inimici" of the Church, pagans in the Roman Empire.

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(iv) **hanc formam :** "this formula." The word has the same meaning in the *De Baptismo*, xiii : Lex . . . tinguendi imposita est et forma præscripta. Ite inquit, docete nationes, tinguentes eas in nomen patris et filii et spiritus sancti (Matt. xxviii. 19). Still more frequently in Tertullian is the meaning rule, determination (in the sense of determining factor, prescription, measure, e.g. *Idololat.*, xix : formam obseruationis acceperant (milites ad Iohannem) ; *Adu. Marc.*, i, 18 : ad formam prouocans creatoris ; *ib.*, iv, 8 : ex forma iam prioris exempli ; *ib.*, iv, 11 : nemo discipulos Christi—ad formam discipulorum Iohannis—prouocasset ; *ib.*, iv, xxvii : ex forma legis—offerebant. It also has the meaning of "practice." *De Baptismo*, v : ea forma qua semper carnalia in figuram spiritalium antecedunt.

ex interpretatione enim figurata : "by a figurative interpretation." In describing the Incarnation Tertullian

uses the phrase "caro figuratus" to denote that our Lord received in the womb of His Virgin Mother not only the "appearance" but also "the reality of flesh" (*Apol.*, XXI). Compare also *Adu. Marc.*, IV, 21.

In the *De Bapt.*, VIII: ubi Ecclesia est arca figurata; here figurata means "representation." *ib.*, III: hominis figurandi opus; here figurandi means "shaping." The adverb figuraliter occurs in *Test. Anim.*, II.

quamquam etsi: This redundancy is characteristic of the popular speech in many modern languages: it was creeping into Literary Latin, though not specially common in Tertullian (Koffmane, *G. Gesch. d. Kirchenlateins*, I, 2§, 8, p. 132). Compare *De Baptismo*, XIV: quamquam etsi nam miserat Christus ad tinguendum.

substantiam. Substantia is a verbal noun from substo, that which underlies a thing; that by which anything subsists or exists—the Greek equivalent is ὑπόστασις. The word substantia meant "property," the sense in which we use the word when we speak of "a man's substance," a man's possessions, estates, the owner's rights in which were carefully protected by the Roman law from invasion or infringement. The word "substantia" is always concrete in Tertullian—"a substance." In *De Anim.*, XXXII, he explains carefully that "substantia" means, e.g. "lapis" or "ferrum," and distinguishes it from "natura substantiæ." It occurs frequently in Tertullian, e.g. *De Baptismo*, III: Antiqua substantia; *ib.*, XVIII: substantia terrena; *De Pudicit.*, IX: tota substantia sacramenti (referring here to the Sacrament of Holy Baptism); *De Exhort. Cast.*, X: magnum substantiam sanctitatis.

Adu. Prax., II: unius substantiæ; *ib.*, XIII: unius et indiuisæ substantiæ; *Apol.*, XXI: ex unitate substantiæ. There is an interesting article on Tertullian's use of the words substantia, natura and personæ in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. IV. (April, 1903), by J. F. Bethune-Baker.

si enim pronuntiauit: "for so hath He Himself

declared." Pronuntiare was a term used in Law: the verdict was declared by the judge. Compare *Apol.*, XLVI: Et facilius statuis et salariis remuneratus, quam ad bestias pronuntiantur. The substantive pronuntiatio occurs in *De Orat.*, XXII. Also *De Bapt.*, II, III, XII.

(v) **in nobis:** Abl. for acc. is found elsewhere in Tertullian, e.g. *De Coron. Milit.*, XI: ne in delictis incidamus; *Adu. Prax.*, XVI: omnia tradidit in senu eius—omnia tradita in manu eius; *Hermog.*, XLI: et bonum et malum in loco facis; *De Carn. Chr.*, XI (anima) in carne conuersa.

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nam deus quando non regnat? These words are imitated by Cyprian, *De Orat. Dom.*, XIII.

regni dominici: The elliptic dominicus occurs again in this treatise, Chs. XIV, XXIII, and fairly frequently in Tertullian, e.g.:

Ad Uxor., II, 4: Conuiuium dominicum.
De Pudicit., IX: Corporis dominici.
De Coron. Milit., III: dies dominica.
Adu. Marc., III, 7: gratiæ dominicæ.
De Pœnit., XII: intinctio dominica.
Scap., X: muchæsæ dominicæ.
De Pœnit., III: præcepta dominica.
De Fug. in Persecut., XIV: solemnia dominica.

repræsentatio: The words regni dominici repræsentatio may be translated "the manifestation of the Kingdom of God in the future." Repræsentare is to make present to the mind or eye what has been hitherto unseen or has passed out of sight: whether the presence is actual or not must be determined in each case by the context (H. B. Swete: *Journ. Theol. Stud.*, Vol. III, N5, p. 173).

Repræsentatio, denoting (A) that the presence is actual, is used for:

(1) The infliction of punishment in this life. *De Pudicit.*, XIV: damnatum uero sub repræsentatio pœna perisse.

(2) The Second coming of Christ : *Adu. Marc.*, III, 7 : secundæ repræsentationis argumenta signabat.

(3) The manifestation of God by means of material elements in the Old Testament. *ib.*, III, 10 : et elementorum corporibus in repræsentationibus sui usus est.

(4) Our Lord makes His Body present by means of bread. *ib.*, I, 14 : panem quo ipsum corpus suum repræsentat.

(5) Actual infliction of the retaliation allowed by Jewish law. *ib.*, IV, 16 (referring to Deut. xxii. 35) : Facilius enim uim comprimi scit repræsentatione talionis quam repromissione ultionis.

(6) Manifestation to the disciples of the Christ whom prophets and kings had desired to see. *ib.*, IV, 25 : si non erant consecuti repræsentationem eorum quæ nunquam prædicarant.

(7) Repræsentator is used for the revelation of God in Christ through the Incarnation. *Adu. Prax.*, XXIV : et ut filius repræsentator Patris haberetur.

(B) denoting that the "representation" is anticipatory.

(1) The depicting of Christ in the Psalms. *Adu. Prax.*, XI : Psalmi Christus ad Deum uerba facientem repræsentant.

(2) Anticipating future punishment. *Apol.*, XXIII : Contemplatione et repræsentatione ignis illius correpta.

(3) The representation of a character on the stage. *Apol.*, XV : Herculem repræsentat. The adjective repræsentænus (present) with potestas occurs in *Apol.*, XXVIII.

per tractum quidam in sæculo postulant. Tertullian finds in the petition a timely warning for Christians who prayed that the end of the world might be deferred. Compare *De Resurr. Carn.*, XXII, XXIV ; however, he views the subject on the opposite side in *Apol.*, XXXIX and *Ad Scap.*, II. Both views are consistent, though belonging to different frames of mind ; the Christian should long for the coming of his Lord, and the consummation of all things, and yet may shrink from the terrible period which is to precede it (Dodgson note in *Apol.*,

XXXI). There is evidence in Tertullian that in the early age of the Church a notion was very generally prevalent among its members that the end of the world was at hand : *Ad Uxor.*, I, 5 ; *De Exhort. Cast.*, VI (from I Cor. vii. 29), *De Monogam.*, XVI, *De Fug. in Persecut.*, XII.

inuidia. The word occurs again in Tertullian, e.g. *Apol.*, XL, *De Fug. in Persecut.*, X.

exultatio angelorum : compare *De Spect.*, XXX : quæ illa exultatio angelorum.

(vi) **dominus edixerat :** This is a slight mistake of Tertullian. The words " quærite prius regnum et tunc nobis etiam hæc adicientur " do not occur till the end of the chapter (Matt. vi. 33) in which the Lord's Prayer is found, so that the pluperfect is out of place here.

corpus eius in pane censetur. D'Alès, *Théologie de Tertullien*, page 366, takes the meaning to be : " the Body of Christ also is classed within the category of bread, is one kind (among others) of bread." J. J. Blunt, *The Right Use of the Early Fathers* (London, 1857), page 568, renders : " in the bread is understood His Body." I consider this to be the best rendering.

The verb censere and census frequently occur in Tertullian, and with meanings differing from classical Latin. These meanings originate in the Roman census (Duny's *Halicarn.*, IV, 19 ; *Digest., L.*, XV, 2–4). Every Roman citizen had to indicate name, family and age in regard to his own person. Rönasch, *Das Neue Testament Tertullians*, page 625, gives one example only with this meaning *De Anim.*, LVI : ut – – censeat (anima) a inuenta (= that it may come to the census, pay taxes).

The passive censeri is frequently employed (1) Absolute sense ; meaning to originate, descend from. *De Spect.*, VI : a primordio bifariam. Ludi censebantur sacri et funebres (= where brought into two categories or classes).

De Præscript Hæret., XX : omne genus ad originem suam censeatur necesse est (= must be referred back).

(2) With prepositions : *De Anim.*, XL : Ita omnis

anima eo usque in Adam censetur, donec in Christo recenseantur (= is reckoned in family of Adam).

De Spect., IV: quid erit summum ac præcipuum, in quo diabolus et pompae et angeli eius censeantur, quam idololatria (= are to be referred). It is found also with ex, ab, de—*De Uirg. Ueland.*, V; *De Pudicit.*, XI.

The substantive census in several passages of Tertullian has the meaning of source, descent, origin: e.g. *Apol.*, XXI, Nat. lib. I, 12; lib. II, 12; *Adu Marc.*, V, 20; *Hermog.*, XXIII.

Hoc est meum Corpus. Tertullian, in his book against Marcion, asserts our Lord's intention to have been to show that bread was "the figure (figura)" of His Body: he explains the words "Hoc est meum corpus" as meaning "This is the figure of My Body."

Adu. Marc., IV, 40: acceptum panem et distributum discipulis corpus suum illum fecit, hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est figura corpus mei: figura autem non fuisset nisi ueritatis est corpus. In describing the Incarnation Tertullian uses the phrase "caro figuratus," to denote that our Lord received in the womb of His Virgin Mother not only the appearance but also the reality of flesh (*Apol.*, XXI). Compare *Adu. Marc.*, IV, 21. Elsewhere he denotes by it the prophetic anticipation of an event afterwards to be fulfilled: *De Monogam.*, VI. Compare *Adu. Iud.*, X. The translation of "being in the form of God" (ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων), in Phil. ii. 6, by "in figura" ("dei constitus") is the Old Latin version. Cypr., *Test.*, II, 13; III, 39, should be considered in dealing with Tertullian's use of the word "figura." A scholar of great authority as to the meaning of early Latin documents has inferred from these facts that in Tertullian "figura" is equivalent not to σχῆμα, but to χαρακτήρ, that is, it would approach more nearly to "actual and distinctive nature" than to "symbol" or "figura" in the modern sense of these terms (Turner, *Journal of Theol. Studies*, VII, 596). To suppose that "figura" in Tertullian must mean the same as the modern speech would be to assent to a line of thought which is greatly

misleading. The question may well be asked: In what sense are the bread and wine the Body and Blood of Christ? Or, in other words, What is the exact nature of the unseen spiritual presence in the Holy Eucharist? The obvious answer, in accordance with Christian belief, is that it is the Body (or flesh) and Blood of Christ, present after a spiritual and heavenly manner. So Tertullian speaks of our being fed "optimitate dominca corporis, Eucharistia scilicet": *De Pudicit.*, IX. Again, there is a passage in which our author is describing the use of material things in the ministries of grace as an argument against the view of Marcion that matter is essentially evil. Tertullian says that Christ makes His Body present by means of bread. *Adu. Marc.*, I, 14: panem quo ipsum corpus suum repræsentat. Repræsentare in Tertullian continually means "to make present over again" (in the force of re: see *Adu. Marc.*, V, 9). Thus *Adu. Marc.*, V, 12: "repræsentatio corporum" is used of the last judgment; (*ib.*, III, 7): "secunda repræsentatio" is Christ's second Advent: when on earth He effected a cure, He is said "repræsentare curationem" (*ib.*, IV, 9). Compare *Adu. Prax.*, XXIV: the Son strictly cannot be said "repræsentare Patrem," i.e. to make the Father actually present, for He is personally distinct from the Father: but He "repræsentat Deum," i.e. makes God actually present, because He is God, and is the "Vicarius" (or representative) of the Father. Compare also *Adu. Marc.*, III, 10, 24; IV, 6, 13, 22, 23, 25. To understand Tertullian's doctrine of the Eucharist rightly, it must be viewed in the general setting of sacramental principles which he emphasizes. By the daily reception of the bread of life there is continuance in Christ and abiding union in His Body.

It is a matter for anxious care that no drop of the wine or fragment of the bread shall fall to the ground: *De Coron. Milit.*, III. It was the Lord's Body which the disciples received at the Last Supper (*Adu. Marc.*, IV, 40). It is the Lord's Body which the communicant receives in

the Church or reserves for his communion at home (*De Orat.*, XIX). It is Christ's Body and Blood with which the flesh is clothed, so that the soul also may be made fat by God. Caro corpore et sanguine Christi uescitur ut et anima de Deo saginetur (*De Res. Carn.*, VIII). These passages certainly suggest that Tertullian believed the bread to be symbolically called the Body of Christ, because it embodied a presence and gift of His Spirit.

Tertullian, I think, was uncertain in his own mind as to the exact meaning which he assigned to the Eucharistic language of the Church. The tradition of the Church taught that the consecrated bread and wine are the Body and Blood of Christ: and different teachers did their best to interpret this doctrine. There is a good article on the Eucharistic Belief in Second and Third Centuries, by H. B. Swete, in *Journ. Theol. Stud.*, Vol. III, page 161 f.

indiuiduitatem a corpore eius. Compare Cypr., *De Orat. Dom.*, XVIII: postulamus ne qui in Christo sumus et Eucharistiam eius cottidie ad cibum salutis accipimus. Also Hilary, *De Trinitate*, VIII, 13: de unitate carnis et sanguinis non relictus est ambigendi locus: Nunc enim et ipsius dominici professione et fide nostræ, uere caro, et uere sanguis est. Et hæc accepto et hausta efficiunt ut et nos in Christo et Christus in nobis sit.

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pulsator panem poscebat: The passage may be translated "He who knocked at the door by night and asked for bread." Tertullian's use of the word pulsare elsewhere is worthy of notice. In the *Apology* he uses the expression pulsare apud conscientiam aliquem (to knock at a man's heart, and make an enquiry). IX: ex ipsis etiam nobis iustissimis et seuerissimis in nos præsidibus apud conscientias pulsem, qui natos sibi liberos enecent? The metaphor here is taken from the common phrase pulsare fores, which Tertullian uses in *De Test. Anim.*, I:

ueritatis fores pulsarit. Here it is used in a peculiar sense, and means "to make a near approach to truth."

In *De Præscript. Hæret.*, x, pulsare = to assail: Apelles pulsabit me hac pronuntiatione; *De Pallio*, vi: musicam pulsabat (musical time-beats or beating time).

præmiserat: Tertullian's memory is at fault, for the passage actually occurs later than the Lord's Prayer, at Matthew vi. 34.

ampliationem. "An enlargement." Ampliatio is a Law term which signified a deferring of the decision to any day which the judge might please. The word occurs in *De Baptismo*, xiii: addita est ampliatio sacramento.

The verb ampliare occurs in *De Orat.*, xi: amplians legem. *ib.*, xxii: nostra lex ampliata atque suppleta, and in xxix: uirtute ampliat gratiam.

In *Adu. Ualent.*, viii, ampliatus is used in connection with "gloriosus, fortunatus."

(vii) **quasi taurus ad uictimam:** The meaning of this passage is: If we are just to be fed and fattened by these (elements, such as "daily bread") in body, as a bull is destined for sacrifice is, and then like him, handed over to death.

uictima =σφαγή. Compare *De Patient.*, iii: adducitur ut pecus ad uictimam. *De Fug. in Persecut.*, xii: tamquam ouis ad uictimam ductus est.

sciebat dominus se solum sine delicto esse: The reference is to the Epistle to the Hebrews iv. 15. The statement that "our Lord was without sin" is repeated elsewhere in Tertullian, *De Anim.*, xli: Solus enim deus sine peccato, et solus homo sine peccato Christus, quia et deus Christus. See also *De Carn. Christi*, xvi; *De Præscript. Hæret.*, iii.

exomologesis. There is no trace of private confession to a priest, as a sacramental ordinance of obligation in the Ante-Nicene Church, but public confession in the presence of the Clergy and of the congregation was part of the disciplinary or penitential system of the early

Church, and was in constant practice. The name by which it was known was not " confessio " but " exomologesis." The word occurs again in Chapter IX. In the *De Pænit.*, IX, Tertullian, in speaking of the proof of repentance, says it is an (actus) which is expressed by a Greek word (ἐξομολόγησις), but it may be exhibited by some outward act. It is at Carthage that we first encounter a definite system of ecclesiastical discipline, and it is the strong but somewhat rigid mind of Tertullian's which has given us a description of its working. In his book, *De Pænitentia*, Tertullian recognised at the outset that sins of the spirit call for repentance not less than sins of the flesh, adding that since our actions have their origin in the will, sins of the spirit may incur even more guilt and deserve a heavier judgment than evil deeds. Repentance and forgiveness are necessary for all, and by the mercy of God are applicable to all sins, whether of will or deed (*De Pænit.*, IV). Forgiveness is conveyed in baptism on the understanding that the candidate has repented of the sins of his past life. We are baptized not in order that we may cease from sinning, but because we have ceased. The baptized ought to sin no more, to need no second repentance, no further remission ; but if he sins after baptism the door still stands open, not wide open as before, but ajar ; and within, in the vestibule, there stands a Second Penitence, which opens to those who knock (*ib.*, V, VII). This Second Penitence is the last ; it is the plank to which the shipwrecked soul must cling if it would be saved from drowning. And it must needs be harder and more exacting than the first ; the " exomologesis " must be accompanied by humiliating circumstances.

The penitent must lie in sackcloth and ashes, and partake of no pleasant food or drink, throw himself at the feet of the presbyters, kneel before the faithful and implore their prayers. It is not surprising that members of the great Church of Carthage were reluctant to submit to such discipline, or that Tertullian found it necessary to urge it upon penitents by every argument that his

ingenuity could suggest. This terrible ordeal was not to be undergone (he says) in the presence of a jeering or amused crowd, but before fellow-Christians of the same Lord, moved by the same Spirit, who would share the grief and shame of the penitent. And the effects of such a penitence would be of the best ; it would extinguish the fires of hell ; it would heal the wounds of the soul (*ib.*, IX, XII). Compare Cypr., *Epp.*, XV, 1 ; XVI, 2 ; *De Lapsis*, XXVIII, XXXI ; Origen : *Select in Psalm* CXXXV. At Alexandria, Clement, the head of the Catechetical School, and a contemporary of Tertullian, taught the doctrine of a " second penitence " in terms very similar to those used by Tertullian, but he does not describe the process (*Stromat.*, II, 13, § 56).

ueniæ : " forgiveness." " Bona uenia," or " cum bona uenia," was an expression used in the Law Courts by way of excuse for something about to be said " by your good leave," " with your permission," nos oro atque obsecro iudices, ut attente bonaque cum uenia uerba mea audiatis. Cf. *De Pœnit.*, VII : uenia peccatourn ; *De Pudicit.*, III : uenia carere—si caret uenia. In *Adu. Marc.*, IV, 21, Tertullian employs the word in the sense of " liberty " or " freedom " in speaking of the freedom the ox has, to gather his fodder, for his labour—ad ueniam pabuli.

Scripturis. See note, Ch. XXV.

debitum autem in scripturis delicti figura est : Compare Cypr., *De Orat. Dom.*, XXII : si peccata donentur ; quæ debita Dominus appellat, sicut in Euangelio suo dicit, Demisi tibi omne debitum quia me rogasti.

figura : " form " or type. See also *De Bapt.*, Chs. V, IX, XX. In *De Monogam.*, VI, Tertullian denotes by " figura " the prophetic anticipation of an event afterwards to be fulfilled. Compare also *Adu. Iud.*, X. In *Scorp.*, XII : Tertullian says that our Lord made known to the Apostles, " figura uocis suæ." In *Adu. Marc.*, IV, 40, it has the meaning " a main point of " or " head of " a discussion. See note, Ch. VI, on Hoc est Meum Corpus.

penes dominum. Penes = apud and often in Tertullian, e.g. *Apol.*, x : Ante Saturnum deus penes uos nemo est ; *ib.*, xxi : qui penes uos ; *ib.*, xxxix : id uocatur quod dilectio penes Græcos ; *ib.*, quæ penes uos fere dirimit fraternitatem ; *De Bapt.*, v : item penes ueteres quisque se homicidio infecerat ; *ib.*, x : quanta aquæ gratia penes deum et Christum ; *Ad Nat.*, i, 14 : penes uos (*bis*) ; *De Anim.*, ii : quæ penes nos apocryphorum confessione damnantur. Compare also *De Carn. Resurr.*, xx ; and *De Pœnit.*, iv.

Penes is used in a local sense (African Latin), *Apol.*, ix : Infantes penes Africam Saturno immolabantur.

Tertullian sometimes uses apud, e.g. *Apol.*, xix : Apud uos quoque religionis est instar. *ib.*, xx : apud homines ; *ib.*, xxi : apud uestros quoque sapientes λόγον.

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ut legem in melius reformaret : " that He might remould the law for the better." Reformare has a variety of meanings in Tertullian.

(1) " to change into." *Apol.*, xlviii : quis in quam bestiam reformari uideretur.

(2) " to reform " in our modern sense of the word. *Apol.*, xxi : uenit igitur qui ad reformandam et intuminandam eam . . . Christus ille filius dei.

(3) " to restore to health " (physical infirmities). *De Orat.*, xxix : debiles reformare.

(4) " to be born again." *De Bapt.*, iii : quam stultum et impossibile sit aqua reformari tractamus.

(viii) **ab eo utique qui temptat.** Compare Thess. iii. 5. Resch (p. 233) compares the agraphon in *Hom. Clem.*, iii, 55 : τοῖς δὲ οἰομένοις ὅτι ὁ θεὸς πειράζει, ὡς αἱ γραφαὶ λέγουσιν, ἔφη, ὁ πονηρός ἐστιν ὁ πειράζων. He thinks that the mode of expression resembles the style of the Synoptic Gospels.

Bishop Westcott, on the other hand, doubts the genuineness of the saying (*Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, p. 547 n.).

In the New Testament the devil is constantly represented as the tempter. Compare Matt. iv. 3 ; 1 Cor. vii. 5 ; Apoc., ii. 10 ; 1 Tim. vi. 9 (compared with iii. 7 ; 2 Tim. ii. 26).

diaboli est infirmitas et malitia. " Diabolus " occurs frequently in Tertullian, e.g. : *De Spect.*, IV : renuntiasse nos diabolo et pompæ et angelis, and in *De Coron. Milit.*, III, VI. The word occurs in *De Pœnit.*, V (five times) ; *De Fug. in Persecut.*, II (six times). Other words are found for the devil.

(1) æmulus (= hostis) is found with diabolus. *De Pœnit.*, V : renuntiatus æmulo diabolo. Again, *ib.* : ceterum nam leuiter in Dominum peccat, qui, cum æmulo eius diabolo pœnitentia renuntiassit. Æmulus occurs alone, as a name of the devil. *De Coron. Milit.*, VI : Dei æmulus corrupit ; *De Pœnit.*, V : quanto æmulo eius acceptus.

(2) The name of Satan. Tertullian represents the common pagan exclamation malum as an unconscious reference to Satan. *De Test. Anim.*, III. Satanam denique in omni uexatione et aspernatione et detestatione pronuntias, quam nos dicimus malitiæ angelum. Comp. *Adu. Hermog.*, XI : erit mali finis cum præses eius diabolus abierit in ignem. *Apol.*, XXII : nam et Satanam huius mali generis (i.e. dæmonium) : *De Spect.*, VIII : Totum sæculum Satanas et angeli eius repleuerunt—the name occurs in *De Fug. in Persecut.*, II (four times).

Satan and Satanas do not occur in Cyprian.

(3) Malus = ὁ πονηρός as a name for Satan occurs fairly frequently : In this chapter of *De Oratione* : deuehe nos a malo. *De Idololat.*, XVI : sed quondam ita malus circumdedit sæculum idololatria. Also XXI, and *De Patientia*, Chs. V, XI, XIV, XXI. It should be noticed that such an absolute use of the simple adjective is against the Latin idiom, which would rather require " Malus ille "—a phrase which we find in *De Cult. Foem.*, II, 5 : Christianus a malo illo adiuiabitur in aliquo.

(4) The compound word malignus (=Mali-genus) is found as a substitute for malus in the last clause of the

Lord's Prayer, in *De Fug. in Persecut.*, II : sed erue nos a maligno. Malignus is not used by Cyprian.

Abraham. Compare Genesis xxii. 2. Abraham is Tertullian's example of "probation." Job is Cyprian's example of probation (*De Orat. Dom.*, XXVI). Compare also Hilary *Tract* CXVIII, *Psalm* i. 15.

God did not tempt Abraham, He simply wished to prove his faith when He ordered him to offer up Isaac. More than that, His far-reaching purpose in that incident was to give a practical example of the precept which He was presently to lay down, viz. that not even children are to be loved more than God (Matt. x. 37).

ipsi a diabolo temptatus. Tertullian is anxious to show from Scripture that the agent of temptation is not God the Father. It was the devil who tempted our Lord ; for Tertullian that is decisive. Satan is the "præsides et artifex" of temptation ; to fail in prayer is to desert the Lord, and then to fall into the power of the Tempter. Then Tertullian concludes by observing that this is borne out by the last clause of the petition in the Lord's Prayer, sed deuehe nos a malo (but deliver us from the evil one).

præsidem et artificem temptationis. Compare *De Test. Anim.*, IV : Satanam dǫnique in omni uexatione et aspernatione et detestatione, quem nos dicimus malitiæ angelorum, totius erroris artificem, totius sæculi interpolatorem.

clausula : "clause." The word elsewhere has the meaning "close." *De Idololat.*, IX : quasi clausulam sacrificationis et gloriæ sæcularis. So also *De Orat.*, XXVII ; *Apol.*, XXXII : Clausulam sæculi : *Scorp.*, VIII : Ipse (Iohannes) clausula legis.

(ix) **compendiis.** "in abbreviated forms." Compendium in *De Bapt.*, XII, has the meaning of "a short way" (compendium baptismi). In *Adu. Marc.*, V, 12 : it means "a saving" (compendium mortis consequentur).

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expunguntur. "Set forth" seems to be the meaning here, expungere = dispungere, implere. The verb in Tertullian has the following meanings:

(1) "to dispose of" (as used in the Law Courts), *De Uirg. Ueland*, XI: nunc responso expungemus.

(2) "to pay off." *De Coron. Milit.*, I: liberalitas expungebatur in castris, and *De Idololat.*, XIII: mercedis debitum expungunt.

(3) "to discharge" (a penalty). *Apol.*, II: debito pœnæ expungendus est.

(4) "to sum up." *De Idololat.*, I: idoldatria crimine expungitur.

(5) "to accomplish." *Apol.*, XXXV: mortis per demutationem expunctæ, also in *De Resurr. Carn.*, XLI; *ad De Anim.*, XLIX. The substantive expunctio occurs in *De Idololat.*, XVI: operæ meæ expunctio (=fulfilment). Also in *De Ieiun.*, X: ad clausulam et expunctionem stationis.

in postulatione tutelæ: "in the request for protection."

Tutela is a Law term: it signified the office of guardian, a tutelage of minors, insane persons.

The word occurs again in *De Spect.*, VIII: Tutulinas a tutelis fructuum sustinent.

Adu. Marc., IV, 9: quantum autem ad tutelam legis.

De Pallio, V: immundissimum pedum tutelam.

se uellet orari: The accusative with the infinitive after uolo is found elsewhere in Tertullian, *Apol.*, XXI: se cognosci et coli deus uult; *ib.*, XXIV: nemo se ab inuito coli uolet.

Adu. Prax., XXIV: hoc se uolens credi.

iam tunc cum: "even at the very time when."

(x) **legitima et ordinaria oratione:** "the prescribed and standard prayer." Compare *De Fuga in Persecut.*, II: In legitima oratione.

(xi) **retentione.** Retention in contrast to remissio, what

is retained—i.e. not remitted occurs probably first in Tertullian (then in Lact., *Div. Inst.*, VI, 10, 25), (H. Hoppe: *Syntax und Stil des Tertullian*, p. 109). Compare retinere used in this sense: *Adu. Marc.*, I, 28: quomodo uidebitur delicta dimittere qui non uidebitur retinere.

ab initio: "from the beginning" of Scripture, the Book of Genesis, to which Tertullian is about to refer. Tertullian uses "in primordio" with reference to the Creation: *De Bapt.*, III: in primordio fecit Deus cælum et terram, but in the *Apology*, XI: ab initio is used of the Creation.

Tertullian, referring to Genesis i. 27, has "a primo" (*De Orat.*, XXII).

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disciplina nostra: "our rule of life." Compare *Apol.*, XLV, where disciplina has the same meaning as here. Tertullian contrasts the Christian "disciplina" with that of the heathen in *De Præscript. Hæret.*, Chs. XLI, XLII, XLIII. Disciplina stands for obedience to the law of God and of conduct resulting from such obedience. The word occurs fairly frequently in the *De Oratione*, Chs. I, X: disciplina orandi; IV: disciplina; VI: spiritalis disciplinæ; XVI: instar disciplinæ; XXIII: una disciplina; XXV: disciplina Israelis. This word in Eccl. Latin descends through a curious variety of significations: in early authors its special sense was almost monopolised by military affairs: in *De Orat.*, XIX, Tertullian uses the word in connection with military duty. It occurs elsewhere, e.g. *De Idololat.*, XIII: disciplina fidei; *De Bapt.*, IX: sollemnia disciplinæ; *De Resurr. Carn.*, XLIX: per disciplinam sanctitatis, et patientiæ et sapientiæ.

(xiii) **manibus quidem ablutis.** The custom occurs in connection with the Agape described in *Apol.*, XXXIX. In the Law of Moses (Exod. XXX, 18–21) it was ordained that "between the tabernacle of the congregation and the altar there shall stand a brazen laver full of water," at which the priests were to wash their hands and their

feet, before they entered (see also Deut. xxi. 6 ; Psalms xxvi. 6 ; xxviii. 20, 24 ; lxiii. 13). It is most probable, however, that the custom was much older than the Mosaic Law, for it appears to have been general among the heathen at an early period. Thus Hesiod gives a warning : *Opera et Dies.*, I, line 721 : " Never with unwashed hands to pour out the black wine at morn to Zeus, or the other immortals." He also forbade the passage of a stream on foot before washing the hands in it with prayer (*ib.*, I, 735).

It may be noted that, possibly in consequence of the words of St. Paul (1 Tim. ii. 8), the early Christians made it a rule to wash their hands before prayer. The rite of early washing before private prayers in the morning is mentioned in the *Apost. Conslt.*, VIII, 32.

In the Canons of Hippolytus the Christians are directed to wash their hands whenever they pray. Can. XXV, 224 : Christianus lauet manus omni tempore quo orat, and Can. XXVIII, 241. St. Chrysostom, in *Hom.* LI, *in Matt. Eu.*, xv. 17–20, in speaking of public worship in general, says : " I see a custom of this sort prevailing among the many : that they study how they may come (into Church) with clean hands, and how they may wash their hands, but consider not how they may present a clean soul to God. And I do not say this to prevent you washing hands, or face, but because I want you to wash as is befitting not with water only, but with the virtues correlative to the water."

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(xiii) **inquinamentum.** " Defilement." This word occurs again in *Apol.*, XXX ; *De Spect.*, VIII ; *De Carne Christi*, XX ; *De Cult. Fœm.*, II, 7 ; *Ad Uxor.*, II, 2, 7 ; *Ad Nat.*, I, 10.

in Christo semel lauimus. These words, of course, refer to the Sacrament of Holy Baptism. For a detailed account of Holy Baptism the *De Baptismo* should be studied.

The following details may be gathered from the various writings of our author :

(1) The Renunciation of the Devil in the Church (before Baptism). *De Coron. Milit.*, III : Denique, ut a baptismate ingrediar, aquam, adituri ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius, in ecclesia sub antistitis manu, contesttamur nos remuntiare, diabolo et pompæ et angeli eius. Dehinc ter mergitamur, amplius aliquid respondentes quam dominus in euangelio determinant. Inde suscepti lactis et mellis concordiam prægustamus, exque ea die lauacro quotidiano per totam hebdomadem abstinemus.

The candidates were assumed to have received some previous instruction : *De Bapt.*, I : eos qui cum maxime formantur ; *ib.*, XVIII : ueniant dum discunt. The preparation consisted of fasting, prayer and vigil (*ib.*, XX).

(2) Sponsors were present. *De Bapt.*, VI : dum habemus per benedictionem eosdem arbitros fidei quos et sponsores salutis. See also *ib.*, XVIII.

(3) The convert was immersed thrice : *De Coron. Milit.*, III : Dehinc ter mergitamur. Compare also *De Bapt.*, II : *Adu. Prax.*, XXVI : in the name of the Blessed Trinity. *Adu. Prax.*, XXVI : nouissime mandans ut tingerent in patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum, non in unum.

(4) Some form of Creed was received. *De Coron.*, III ; *De Uirg. Ueland.*, I ; *De Præscript. Hæret.*, XIII.

(5) No form of consecration of the water is to be found. Immediately on leaving the water came the Unction. *De Bapt.*, VII : exinde egressi de lauacro perungimur benedicta unctione de pristina disciplina.

(6) Sealing with the sign of the Cross. *De Res. Carn.*, VIII : caro signatur (signed with the cross), and imposition of the hand. *De Bapt.*, VIII : non licebit per manus sanctas sublimitatem modulari spiritalem ? ; and compare also *Adu. Marc.*, IV, 34.

(7) The milk and honey. *De Coron. Milit.*, III : Inde suscepti lactis et mellis concordiam prægustamus.

(8) Fasting was recommended after the reception of the Sacrament : *De Bapt.*, XX.

(9) Abstinence from ordinary bathing was practised

for a week. *De Coron. Milit.*, III : exque ea die lauacro quotidiano per totam hebdomadem abstinemus.

It seems doubtful as to whether reception of the Eucharist was part of the Baptismal ceremony or not. *De Resurr. Carn.*, VIII ; *Adu. Marc.*, I, 14, seem to imply that it was. *De Præscript. Hæret.*, XXXVI, is ambiguous : *De Coron. Milit.*, III, seems definitely to separate them. The proper minister for conferring Baptism was the Bishop ; failing him, a priest or deacon might baptize, with the Bishop's permission. *De Bapt.*, XVII : dandi quidem habet uis summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus ; dehinc presbyter et diaconi, non tamen sine episcopi auctoritate.

(xiv) **aliquis Eseias:** "someone like Isaiah," i.e. some prophet. Tertullian often used aliqui, aliquis contemptuously, as well as descriptively. The exact meaning in each case must be deduced from the context, e.g. : *Apol.*, XI : aliquem de sapientia Socratem ; *ib.*, XII : qui Senecam aliquem . . . reprehendistis ; *ib.*, XV : Mineruam aliquam ; *De Carn. Resurr.*, III : sententia Platonis alicuius pronuntiantis ; *De Bapt.*, V : Isidis alicuius aut Mithræ ; *De Monogam.*, XVII : Iohannes aliqui Christi spado.

expandimus et dominicam passionem modulantes. It was the custom in the earliest days of Christianity to pray standing with the hands extended and slightly raised towards heaven and with face turned towards the East. There was a strict observance of this custom among early Christians, and it can be traced back to their Jewish and heathen forefathers. Compare Psalms lxiii. 4 ; cxix. 48 ; cxxii. 2 ; Lament. viii. 6 ; Isa. i. 15. But Tertullian attaches a different motive to the Christian elevation of the hands to any that could have entered into the mind of a pagan.

Compare *Apol.*, XXX : illuc suspicientes (in cœlum) Christiani manibus expansis quia innocuis, capite nudo quia non erubiscimus. The idea continually recurred to by the Fathers is, that as Moses stretched out his arms,

and thus a prayer conquered Amalek, so did Christ stretch out His arms on the Cross, and conquer the power of darkness, and that Christians when engaged in prayer shall in like manner "lift up holy hands" (1 Tim. ii. 8); but especially in that Eucharistic prayer which is in commemoration of the death and intercession of Christ on the Cross. For the thought of hands lifted up as Moses see St. Barnab. *Ep.*, 12; Tertullian, *Adu. Iud.*, x; *Adu. Marc.*, I, 23; Cypr., *Test.*, ii. 21; Lact. *De Mort Persec.*, 46. Clement of Rome, *Ad Corinth.*, 2, speaks of stretching out the hands in prayer.

Clement of Alex., *Strom.*, VII, 7, after defining prayer, proceeds to say: "therefore as if reaching up to Him, we raise the head and lift the hands towards heaven." In the many paintings of Christian worshippers in the Catacombs, we see them with uplifted hands. There is an illustration in C. Maitland, *The Church of the Catacombs*, page 218.

Pagan may readily be distinguished from Christian orante on ancient monuments, the pagan figures raising their hands vertically with the elbow forming a right angle, the Christian extending the arm horizontally expressing, according to Tertullian, modesty and humility. *De Orat.*, XVII: ne ipsis quidem manibus sublimius elatis, sed temperate ac probe elatis.

(XV) **huiusmodi:** "practices of such a kind." Huiusmodi and eiusmodi are frequently used as substantives in Tertullian, especially following prepositions. *De Bapt.*, IV: ita eiusmodi in spiritu; *ib.*, XII: audiui, domino teste, eiusmodi; *De Spect.*, XXVI: cur igitur non eiusmodi etiam dæmoniis penetrabiles fiant?

Apol., I: cum non liceat eiusmodi illud esse, quod non debeant odisse? *De Idololat.*, XIII, XV; *De Exhort. Cast.*, I; *Adu. Marc.*, V, 15: in huiusmodi; *De Idololat.*, XVI, XXI: in eiusmodi; *De Præscript. Hæret.*, V: ab eiusmodi; *Adu. Marc.*, II 13: de eiusmodi (= a tali) qua fidusia bonum sperem? *De Ieiun.*, VII: pro eiusmodi.

deputantur: "put down" or "assigned to." The

verb is frequently found in Tertullian, e.g. *De Pœnit.*, III : id est quæ delicto deputanda sunt ; *De Spect.*, IV : tum certes, quibus auctoribus deputentur ; *De Idololat.*, IV : quicquid idololatria committit, in artificem quemcumque et cuiuscumque idoli deputetur necesse ; *De Bapt.*, XIV : dum alius Paulo deputat, alius Apollo. In *De Exhort. Cast.*, VI, it retains the old sense of " puto " : siluia erat uetus disposito duæ in euangelio nouo deputatur ; so also in *Apol.*, XIX : de sophia amor eius philosophia uocitatus est, de prophetia affectatio eius poeticam uaticinationem deputauit.

rationalis officii: " reasonable service." Compare Romans xii. 1.

expositis pænulis: " divested of their upper garments." Exponere = ἐκδύειν, deponere (to lay aside), is found, probably, first in Tertullian ; later often (H. Hoppe, *Syntax und Stil des Tertullian*, p. 129). Here, of course, the word is used in the literal sense, as in *De Pall.*, V : etiam cum exponitur (pallium). It is used in the figurative sense in *De Resurr. Carn.*, XLV : expone – – ueterem hominem (Eph. iv. 22).

Pænulum. The reference is to 2 Timothy iv. 13. This is a very instructive passage concerning the " Pænula." It has sometimes been referred to as possibly mentioning an article of ecclesiastical dress (see Rock, *D. Hierurgia*, 2nd ed., 1851 ; p. 438 ; J. M. Neale, *Essays on Liturgiology*, p. 414). But there is no ground whatever for such an interpretation. Tertullian knew nothing of a chasuble theory as being applied to this garment. He interpreted the cloak to mean the ordinary article of attire which now goes by that name. From this passage we learn that heathen worshippers, in Tertullian's time, thought it indecorous to wear a " Pænula " when engaged in public prayer, that on such occasions therefore they put them off. We learn, too, that many Christians had adopted the same custom, and that such scruples were regarded by Tertullian as favouring of superstition rather than of religion. He then puts it as an absurd supposition,

" nisi si qui putant," which some might adopt, that St. Paul lost his " Pænula " in consequence of his taking it off when about to engage in prayer at the house of Carpus. As to St. Paul's " Pænula " being itself a " sacrificial vestment," it is evident that such an idea had never entered Tertullian's head. The " superstition " in Tertullian's time was that of supposing that it was such a garment as none could fitly appear in church at all. In another passage : *De Coron. Milit.*, I, we find that in his time, the " Pænula " was worn by soldiers, not of course when actively engaged, but much as our soldiers wear " great-coats " for protection against the weather. Tertullian states, in *Apol.*, VI, that the " Pænula " was invented by the Lacedæmonians, to enable them, as spectators, to enjoy even in cold weather the spectacles of the stadium : ne uoluptas impudica frigeret, Lacedæmonii pænulam ludis excogitarunt. But an unsupported statement of this kind does not carry much weight. It is mentioned in classical authors, e.g. Plautus, *Most.* IV, II, 74 ; Horace, I *Ep.* XI, 18 ; Seneca, *Ep.* LXXXVII.

scilicet used ironically " forsooth," in *De Orat.*, XXII ; it is an explanatory particle " that is to say."

cum sarabaris et tiaris. The " sarabara " were wide trousers, such as were worn in the East, and the " tiara," the headdress of the Orientals. Both are mentioned again in *De Resurr. Carn.*, LVIII.

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(xvi) **Hermas,** was brother of Pius, Bishop of Rome from about A.D. 140–155. Hermas wrote a lengthy apocalyptic work in Greek called *The Shepherd.* In Vis. I, I he begins by describing himself as a slave, presumably from foreign parts, sold to a lady Rhoda at Rome. We learn that he has a family (Vis. I, 3), and lived in very modest circumstances at Rome, where he

cultivated a field in the vicinity of the City (Vis. III, 1, 2 ; IV, 1, 2).

scriptura : "writing." This word in the singular meaning "a writing" belongs to the Silver-Latin Age, and does not occur in earlier prose than Tacitus.

It occurs again in Tertullian, with the meaning "inscription." *De Spect.*, VIII : ut Hermateles affirmat, Soli prostituta, scriptura eius, unde et census de Ægypto superstitio est.

cuius scriptura fere "pastor" inscribitur. "Whose writing is generally called "*The Shepherd.*" The work falls into three parts : (1) five visions (ὁράσεις, visiones), (2) twelve commandments (ἐντολαί, mandata), and (3) ten similitides (παραβολαί, similitidines). The author of *The Shepherd* calls himself "Hermas" (Vis. I. 1 ; 4 ; II. 2). The book was originally written in Greek. Two early translations into Latin were made, both of which, as well as the original Greek, are still extant.

Dr. J. A. Robinson (Texts and Studies : *Passio S. Perpetuæ*, Vol. I, 2, p. 35) brings together a few passages in the earlier Latin version where the language has points of correspondence with that of Perpetuæ and Saturus. He also thinks that the Martyrs used this early Latin version of *The Shepherd*. A copy of the original Greek of *The Shepherd* stood at the end of the great uncial Old and New Testament manuscript, known as the Sinaitic Codex—considered to be written in the fourth century, but only about the first quarter of this copy now remains.

Dr. Robinson gives reasons for believing that in the African Bible of the close of the second century the Shepherd of Hermas found a place at the close of the Canonical Books of the New Testament (*ib.*, 36).

There is an account of the Shepherd in the Muratorian Fragment on the Canon which was published by Muratori in 1740, from an Ambrosian MS. of the eighth century. The text may be seen in H. M. Gwatkin's *Selections from Early Christian Writers*, 1902, page 86 : "But *The*

Shepherd was written quite lately in our time by Hermas, while his brother Pius, the Bishop, was sitting in the Chair of the Church of the City of Rome ; and therefore it might indeed be read, but it cannot to the end of time be publicly read in Church to the people either among the prophets who are complete in member, or among the Apostles " (Muratorian Fragment).

In course of time interest in *The Shepherd* dwindled away in the West, and St. Jerome will say of it : " apud Latinos pæne ignotus est " (*De Uir. Illust.*, x).

For an account of the text and editions of *The Shepherd*, see O. Bardenhewer, *Putrology*, pages 41–43. As regards the date of *The Shepherd*, C. Taylor, *Shepherd of Hermas* (S.P.C.K. Introd., p. 9), says, " *The Shepherd*, which was once a claimant to canonical rank, was, perhaps, written about A.D. 150, and not, as has been thought, some half-century or more earlier."

immo contra scripturam fecerit. Here scriptura means " Scripture." The passage may be translated thus : " Nay he will well be acting contrary to Scripture." *The Shepherd* is used as Holy Scripture by Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria (A. Souter : *Text and Canon of the New Testament*, 1913, p. 180).

Compare with the above passage, *De Pudicit.*, x : sed cederem tibi, si non ab omni concilio ecclesiarum etiam uestrarum inter apocrypha et falso iudicaretur, adultera et ipsa et inde patrona sociorum. (Tertullian in addressing Pope Callixtus) *ib.*, xx : receptior apud ecclesias Epistola Barnabæ illo apocrypho Pastore mœchorum.

Dr. Robinson (Texts and Studies : *Passio S. Perpetuæ*, Vol. I, 2, p. 36) says, " I cannot see any sufficient ground for supposing, with Gebhardt and Harnack (*Hermæ Pastor proleg.*, pp. xlvii ff.) that Tertullian materially changed his view in regard to *The Shepherd*. In *De Orat.*, xvi, he passes no judgment whatever on the book, but merely meets by a common-sense reply an argument drawn from it on the right posture in prayer. If he speaks of it as Scripture, this is only in a highly ironical sentence (Immo contra scripturam fecerit, si quis in

cathedra aut subsellio sederit) from which it is manifestly unfair to conclude that he himself regarded it at this time with as much reverence as his opponents evidently did."

fuerit: The use of the future perfect when the future simp. or even the present might be expected seems fairly common in Tertullian, e.g. *De Uirg. Ueland*, XVII: qui (deus) si fuerit (= erit); *Adu. Hermog.*, V: ipsius erit (= est); *ib;* si fuerit (= erit) in pectore, cognoscetur et in capite; *Ad Uxor.*, II, 9: hæc tibi suggere, si opus fuerit (= erit); *De Anim.*, LI: si quid animæ remanserint (= remanet), uita est.

subsellio: "on a bench." Subsellium was properly the judge's seat in the Law Courts (Cic., *Pro Rosc. Am.*, Ch. V).

sigillaribus. Tertullian calls the images of the heathen gods puppets for contempt. For sigillaria are *νευρόσπαστα*, which the Romans call poppacci, the French marionettes: M. Antoninus, Lib. VII, 3, *σιγιλλάρια νευρόσπαστούμενα*. The Sigillaria were the little images presented on the Sigillarium, or last two days of the Saturnalia (Sen., *Ep.*, XII). This festival of the Saturnalia took place on December 17th, and consisted of sacrifices in the open air in front of the temple, and also of an outdoor banquet, at which the senators and knights appeared. People gave presents to one another, in particular wax tapers (cerei) and dolls (sigillaria). (See Nettleship and Sandys, *Dictionary of Classical Antiq.*, p. 559.)

dei uiui: In opposition to the false gods of heathenism the "sigillaria" of which Tertullian has been speaking. Compare in Scripture: Psalm xlii. 2, John x. 26, 1 Thess. i. 9; also Hebrews iii. 12, ix. 14, x. 31. The expression is found elsewhere in Tertullian, *Apol.*, XVII: nouit enim sedem dei uiui; *De Coron. Milit.*, X: Indignum enim, ut imago Dei uiui imago idoli et mortui fias; *De Bapt.*, V: quæ potior religio quam dei uiui?

adhuc is used of the past = etiamtum (found chiefly in poets and historians who like to represent the past vividly). Occurs again in *De Orat.*, XXII.

Compare also *De Coron. Milit.*, VII : idolis adhuc uiuis; *De Uirg. Ueland.*, V : statim mulier est cognominata, adhuc felix, adhuc digna paradiso, adhuc uirgo ; *De Monogam.*, VI : adhuc in monogamia (irat).

(xvii) **deus autem non uocis, sed cordis auditor est, sicut conspector :** This remarkable expression is repeated by Cyprian, *De Orat. Dom.*, IV, and by Ambrosiaster (Pseudo-Augustine) : *Quastiones Ueteris et Novi Testamenti* (XXVI, 18, § 1, ed. Souter, p. 45. 1. 8). Compare also St. Augustine, *De Catech. Rud.*, 13 : Nouerint etiam non esse uocem ad aures Dei ; nisi animi affectum.

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Et Mutum, inquit, Intellego Et Non Loquentem Exaudio : Herodotus gives five hexameters as constituting the reply of the Pythian priestess of Apollo at Delphi. It is the second line that Tertullian refers to ; to the third and fourth he refers in *Apology*, XXII.

The reputation of the Pythian Oracle stood very high throughout Greece, until the times of the Persian Wars, especially among the Dorian tribes, and among them pre-eminently the Spartans. After the Persian Wars the influence of the oracle declined, partly in consequence of the growth of unbelief. But it never fell completely into discredit, and from time to time its practice rose again. In the first half of the second century (A.D.) it had a revival, the result of the newly awakened interest in the old religion. It was abolished at the end of the fourth century (A.D.) by Theodosius the Great.

(xviii) **osculum pacis :** The kiss, the instinctive token of fellowship and affection, found a place in the life and worship of the early Christian Church. The symbol of peace and love could nowhere find a more appropriate home, in its highest and purist idea, than in the religion of peace and love. As a form of Christian greeting, indicating the inner communion of spirit, " a holy kiss " is four times enjoined by St. Paul at the close of his

Epistles (Rom. xvi. 16, 1 Cor. xvi. 20, 2 Cor. xiii. 12, 1 Thess. v. 26), and a "kiss of charity" or "love" once by St. Peter (1 Peter v. 14). No limitation is expressed or implied. The Christians were simply bidden thus "to greet one another." Nor is there any doubt that the primitive usage was for the "holy kiss" to be given promiscuously, without any restriction as to sexes or ranks. For among the other arguments which Tertullian uses why a Christian woman should not marry a heathen this is one—*Ad Uxor.*, II, 4: Quis in carcerem ad osculanda uincula martyris reptare patietur? iam uero alicui fratrum ad osculum conuenire? St. Augustine's language implies also that the kiss was given promiscuously, without any restriction as to sexes or ranks, among those who were all one in Christ Jesus: it was a token of Catholic unity—the inward peace was demonstrated by the outward kiss. Aug., *De Amicit.*, VI: In signum pacis, sicut communicaturi in ecclesia interiorem pacem exteriori osculo permittitur, uel sicut ab amicis post diuturnam absentiam et porrigitur et suscipitur. In signum Catholicæ Unitatis, sicut fit cum hospes suscipitur.

Tertullian here tells us that certain persons object to giving or receiving the "Holy Kiss" in public on a fast day—subtrahunt osculum pacis. This custom he strongly reprehends, not only because the kiss was the "signaculum orationis" which was incomplete without it, but because such an omission of the accustomed rite proclaimed the act of fasting in violation of our Lord's injunction (Matt. vi. 17, 18).

The same objection did not hold good against the received custom of omitting the kiss on Good Friday: die paschæ . . . merito deponimus osculum (close of this chapter). An illustration of this omission may be seen from the remark of Procopius of Cæsarea (flor. A.D. 527), *Hist. Arcan.*, IX, that Justinian and Theodore began their reign with an evil omen, commencing it on Good Friday, a day on which it was unlawful to give the salutation. There is a reference to the kiss of peace at Baptism in

Cyprian, *Ep.*, LXIII, 4; at Ordination: *Apost. Conslt.*, VIII, 5; Pseudo-Dionysius, *De Eccles. Hierarch.*, V, 7, and Sacramentary of Gregory (*Muratori*, Vol. II, col. 442). At Espousals: on the espousal of two Christians, the contract was solemnly ratified by a kiss given by the man to his future wife. This was a custom adopted by the members of the Church from their heathen ancestors, among whom the marriage rite was ratified by the kiss. *Quintil. Declamat*, 276: uxorem aut maritum tantam osculo putari.

It is mentioned by Tertullian as an old heathen custom, but he does not expressly say whether it was retained or not in the Christian marriage ceremonial of his day. (*De Uirg. Ueland.*, XI.) See further: Cabrol, in *Dict. d'Archéologie Chrétienne* (Paris, 1907), II, 117–130; Venables, in *Dict. Chr. Ant.*, II, 902–06 (London, 1880), and Thurston, in *Cath. Encycl.*, VIII, 663–65.

signaculum orationis: "the seal of prayer." Tertullian uses the word "signaculum" in connection with Baptism, e.g. *De Spect.*, IV: ad principalem auctoritatem conuertar ipsius signaculi nostri; *ib.*, XXIV: aduersus quam in signaculo fidei eieramus. Compare also *De Idololat.*, XII: fidem obsignatam; *De Coron. Milit.*, III: frontem signaculo terimus (i.e. the sign of the Cross). It is also used for circumcision. *Apol.*, XXI: de ipso signaculo corporis.

die paschæ: In the sense of Good Friday, in another treatise Tertullian clearly takes "Pascha" as being derived from πάσχειν. *Adu. Iud.*, X: adiecit pascha esse Domini, id est passionem Christi. Compare Lactantius, *Div. Inst.*, IV, 26: denique immolatio pecudis ab iis ipsis qui faciunt pascha nominatur ἀπὸ τοῦ πάσχειν, quia passionis figura est, quam deus præscius futurorum tradidit per Moysen populo suo celebrandam. The word occurs elsewhere in Tertullian, *De Bapt.*, XIX: Paschæ celebrandæ; *De Coron. Milit.*, III: a die Paschæ in Pentecosten usque gaudemus; *Ad Uxor.*, II, 4: sollemnibus Paschæ; *De Ieiun.*, XIII: ecce enim conuenio uos et

præter Pascha ieinantes citra illos dies, quibus ablatus est sponsus.

The Bishop of Salisbury comments on the use of the word (J. Wordsworth, *Ministry of Grace*, p. 355) : " The Christian πάσχα always in the first three centuries and often in the fourth means, I think, the celebration of the fast of Good Friday (extended, no doubt, by ὑπέρθεσις, or " superposition," in most cases over Easter Eve). This, for instance, is its use in Tertullian (*Adu. Iud.*, x, *ad fin*, and *De Bapt.*, xix). But originally it was the observance of one day, answering to the day of our Lord's Passion considered as an historical event. The use of " Pascha " for Easter Day (πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον opposed to πάσχα σταυρώσιμον) is of later introduction.

The original use, though not due to false etymology, was no doubt supported by it in popular estimation, which connected " Pascha " with the Greek πάσχω : " I suffer." Note, page 356 : compare Justin, *Dial.*, 40 ; Iren., iv, 10 ; Tert., *Adu. Iud.*, x, *ad fin* ; Lact., iv, 26. St. Augustine writes strongly against the etymology (*Ep.*, lv, 1) as a popular one.

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(xix) **de stationum diebus.** From Tertullian's writings we learn that the fasts observed by the Church in his day were :

(1) *Stationes*. These days were observed by Orthodox Christians as half-fasts. *De Ieiun.*, xiii : et stationum semi-ieiunia interponentes, on the Wednesday and Friday in each week, and terminating at three in the afternoon (*ib.*, xiv). This name " stationes " was apparently connected with the military use of the word for " encampment " or " post " set for watch or guard. So the Christians adopted the practice of setting apart special days on which by prayer and fasting they kept their watch. These were voluntary fasts, and observed on the authority of tradition : Wednesday being selected, because on that day the Jews took counsel to destroy

Christ : Friday, because that was the day of His Crucifixion (*De Ieiun.*, XIII). The custom of fasting on Wednesday and Friday is mentioned in the earliest type of Church order that has come down to us, *Didache*, VIII, 1. Compare also *Apost. Conslt.*, V, 20 ; *Hermas. Sim.*, V, 1, speaks of " stationes," but without mentioning the days ; Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, VII, 12, 75 ; Origen, *Hom. X in Levit.*, Ch. 2 ; Peter of Alex., *Ep. Can.*, 15. Tertullian notices that in the Roman Church the fast of Friday was prolonged to Saturday : this practice is condemned on the ground that only on the Great Sabbath (the Saturday before Easter-day) should men fast.

De Ieiun., XIV : Cur stationibus quartam et sextam sabbati dicamus et ieiuniis Parasceuen ? quamquam uos etiam sabbatum, si quando, continuatis nunquam nisi in Pascha ieiunandum secundam rationem alibi redditam. The phrase " continuare ieiunium " afterwards became " superponere " = ὑπερτίθεσθαι, compare Victorinus of Pettau (A.D. 270–303), *De Fabrica Mundi*, III. Augustine tells us that some, especially the Eastern communities, preferred not to fast on the Saturday, but that the Roman and some of the Western Churches kept the Saturday fast : he goes on to say that once in the year, namely at Easter, all Christians observe the seventh day of the week by fasting (*Ep.*, XXXVI, 13).

(2) *The Paschal Fast*, which consisted in a total abstinence from food (ieiunium) during the time between our Lord's Death and His Resurrection, a period which came to be estimated at forty hours. *De Ieiun.*, II : certe in euangelio illos dies ieiuniis determinatos putant, in quibus ablatus est sponsus (Matt. ix. 15) et hos esse iam solos legitimos ieiuniorum Christianorum, abolitis legalibus et propheticis uetustatibus. Compare *ib.*, XIII, XIV, and *De Orat.*, XVIII, and St. Augustine in the passage referred to above.

(3) *Xerophagiæ* were days on which it was usual to abstain from flesh and wine, in imitation, perhaps, of the restraint which Daniel is stated to have imposed upon himself : Daniel x. 3. These fasts were not enjoined by

the Church, but were voluntary exercises of piety on the part of the individuals (*De Ieiun.*, XIII), and some of the orthodox appear to have objected to them altogether, on the ground that they were borrowed from the heathen superstitions. *De Ieiun.*, II: Xerophagias uero nouum affectari officii nomen et proximum Ethnicæ superstitioni, quales castimoniæ Apim, Isidem, et Magnam matrem certorum eduliorum exceptione purificant. See also *ib.*, Ch. XVI.

Eucharistia. Tertullian gives various names for the Sacrament of Holy Communion, e.g.:

(1) Eucharistia; also *De Coron. Milit.*, III: Eucharistiæ Sacramentum, and *De Præscript. Hæret.*, XXXVI: Eucharistia pascit.

(2) Sacrificium, in this chapter of the *De Oratione* and *De Cult. Fœm.*, II, 11: sacrificium offertur.

(3) Panis et calix, *Adu. Marc.*, V, 8.

(4) Conuiuium Dominicum: *Ad Uxor.*, II, 4. Also Conuiuium Dei: *ib.*, 9; *De Spect.*, XIII: Cœna Dei.

(5) Dominica sollemnia, *De Fug. in Persecut.*, XIV, and *De Anim.*, IX: Post transacta sollemnia.

(6) Sanctum, *De Spect.*, XXV. The consecrated elements, rather than the celebration, are to be understood by this term. It has been suggested that this name is derived probably from St. Matthew vii. 6, as a reverent title, which should be understood only by Communicants, not by strangers.

ad aram dei, Compare in XXVIII: ad dei altare. By some writers a distinction is made between ara and altare—Bede uses altare for the Christian altar, and ara for a heathen altar. (Plummer's ed., Vol. II, p. 60); but this distinction of words was not always observed by the African writers, as is evident here. Tertullian seems to use the words indifferently, thus altare is used for a heathen altar. *De Pall.*, IV: altaria bustuaria.

The word altare is constant in Cyprian for the Christian

altar: In *Epp.*, LVIII, 18, and LXV, 1, he contrasts heathen "arae" with "Dei altare." Once a heathen altar is called diaboli altare (*Ep.*, LIX, 12). Ara is used for a Christian altar by Commodianus, *Instructiones*, XVIII (Gellandius, *Bibleotheca Uet. Pat.*, III, 646). In the index to the first part of the *Corpus. Inscript. Lat.*, VIII (African volume) ara occurs thirty-five times of the heathen altar, altare only once.

(xix) **accepto corpore domini et reseruato.** An early reference to the Reservation of the Sacrament. Compare *Ad Uxor.*, II, 5, where Tertullian is speaking of the case of a Christian woman married to a heathen husband: Non sciet maritus quid secreto ante omnem cibum gustes? referring evidently to the consecrated portion reserved for consumption at home. The Reserved Sacrament is here spoken of simply as "Corpus Domini." Compare also St. Jerome, *Cp.* XLVIII, *ad Parm.*, 15, but we cannot infer from this that the Body only was ever reserved at that time, for we find this language used of public as well as private communions, and all acknowledge that the former were invariably in both kinds. The earliest notice of the Reserved Sacrament is found in Justin Martyr's *Apol.*, I, 65, from which we learn also that bread and wine were used for the purpose of Reservation: "The deacons communicate each of those present, and carry away to the absent of the blest bread and wine and water." Cyprian (A.D. 251) tells the story of a woman who attempting to open with unworthy hands her casket (arca) in which was contained the Holy Thing of the Lord, but who desisted, being terrified by the fire which rose from the casket (*De Lapsis*, XXVI). St. Tharsicius, an acolyte, was bearing the Reserved Sacrament to some Christians in prison, during the persecution of Valerian (circ. A.D. 256), when he was attacked and killed by a pagan mob (*Acta S S. Bolland. Aug.*, Tom. III, p. 202). Compare also St. Jerome (A.D. 398), *Ep.*, CXXV, *ad Rust.*, 20.

participatio sacrificii: "participation in the Sacrifice,"

i.e. Holy Eucharist. Sacrificium as applied to the Eucharist, may be traced with some confidence to the Eucharistic interpretation of Malachi i. 11. Compare *Didache,* XIV : " This (sacrifice) is that which was spoken of by the Lord. In every place and time offer me a pure sacrifice." This passage from Malachi is quite a locus classicus in early Eucharistic teaching ; it is cited elsewhere by Tertullian, *Adu. Marc.,* III, 22 ; *Adu. Iud.,* V ; Justin, *Dial.,* 28, 41, 116 f. ; Iren., IV, XVII, 5 f. ; Cyprian, *Testim.,* I, 16. (See further, H. B. Swete, " Eucharistic Belief in Second and Third Centuries," *Journ. Theol. Stud.,* III, p. 164 ff.).

militia dei sumus. (Compare 2 Tim. ii. 3, 4) : " soldiers of God." Militia is here used in connection with " statio." The word militia occurs again in *Apol.,* IX ; *Ad Martyr.,* III ; *De Coron. Milit.,* XI, XII. The verb occurs in *Apol.,* XLII : nauigamus et nos uobiscum et militamus, and the adjective has just occurred before the present passage : militari exemplo.

(XX) **sanctissimum Apostolum.** Compare *De Bapt.,* XVII : dixit sanctissimus Apostolus (i.e. St. Paul). The superlative is found with a Biblical name in Ualerius Euagrius : *altercatio legis inter Simonem Iudæum et Theophilum Christianum* (II, 2) ; sanctissimus Moyses ; *ib.,* II, 3 : scimus autem sanctissimum Dauid, and Optatus Milet., III, 2 : sanctissimus Dauid.

effecit - - - nos - - - retractare : Efficere with the acc. and infin. occurs again in *Adu. Marc.,* II, 6 : potestas arbitrii quæ efficeret bonum - - sponte præstari. Compare also *De Anim.,* II.

retractemus : " we treat " or " discuss." Retractare is a favourite word with Tertullian. The word implies a careful consideration and re-examination, and is so used by St. Augustine in the title of his *Retractationes,* the noble review of his own writings, thoughts and mistakes. Suet. (*Octav.,* 34) applies it to a revision of the laws.

(1) It may mean to discuss, treat of, consider as here,

e.g. *Adu. Hermog.*, XXVII : in præteritis aliquid retractauimus ; *De Pat.*, IV : quis de bono eius late retractet ; *Apol.*, III : nemo retractat. Also *Adu. Marc.*, III, 4, IV, 7 ; *Apol.*, IV, XI, XXI.

(2) the word may have the meaning of in disceptationem uocare = to make the object of repeated discussion, to contest, or to cast doubt upon, e.g. *Apol.*, XXXIX : de solo triclinio Christianorum retractatur ; *Scorp.*, VII : ne quisquam retractat. See also *De Carne Christi*, II.

præscriptio : " rule " seems to be the best rendering here. Compare *De Bapt.*, XII : quomodo ex ista præscriptione Apostolis salus competat. The word, which is a favourite with Tertullian, was a technical term of Roman law, like " exceptio," the Greek παραγραφή, a means of staying the direct trial of a suit by entering a demurrer, in which sense it is used by Tertullian as the title of one of his treatises, *De Præscriptione Hæreticorum*.

The verb occurs frequently, sometimes in the sense of :

(1) " define formally," e.g. *De Bapt.*, XII : cum uero præscribitur nemini sine baptismo competere salutem.

(2) with the meaning of " take an exception," e.g. *Apol.*, VII : de uestra nobis dissimulatione præscribitur ; *Adu. Hermog.*, I : solemus hærticis, compendii gratia, de posteritate præscribere.

(XXI) **quasi incertum :** " as a point undetermined."

uelarine debeant uirgines : Tertullian afterwards wrote a special treatise on this subject : *De Uirginibus Uelandis*.

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(XXII) **feminam, qua sexus generaliter, mulierem qua gradus sexus specialiter :** These words are regarded as spurious by Dr. Routh. They seem to contradict the context, in which Tertullian is showing that " mulier " is used for the sex generally. Eve also did not at that time belong to the class intended by " mulier " in its

specific sense "woman." Compare *De Uirg. Ueland.*, v, and in the same book, Ch. iv, Tertullian speaks of both as generic terms, and contrasted with the specific terms "virgin," "married," "widow."

"Naturale uocabulum est femina. Naturalis uocabuli generale mulier. Generalis etiam speciale, uirgo uel nupta, uel uidua, uel quot etiam ætatis nomina accedunt."

Commune id uocabulum et uirgini factum est. Tertullian speaks even more strongly in the *De Uirg. Ueland.*, v: Habes itaque nomen, non dico iam uirgini commune, sed proprium, quod a principio uirgo sortita est.

quam feminas—quam θηλείας: quam-quam for tam-quam. Compare also *De Idololat.*, iv: tota illa pronuntiatio quam artificis quam cultores detestatur, and *Ad Nat.*, i, 10: quam eorum, qui eiusmodi factitant, quam eorum, qui ista suscipiunt.

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Nisi omnis ætatis. Compare *De Uirg. Ueland.*, xi: ubi – – gradum fiximus de Apostoli absoluta definitione, omnem mulierem etiam omnis ætatis intellegendam, responderi ex diuerso habebat, ergo a natiuitate et a primo nomine ætatis uirginem operiri oportere.

nempe propter angelos ait uelari oportere – – – descriuerunt. Tertullian has in mind Genesis vi, 2.

The expression "sons of God" denotes elsewhere (Job i. 6; ii. 1; xxxviii. 7. Compare Daniel iii. 25; Ps. xxiv. 1; lxxxix. 6. R.V.M.) semi-divine, supermundane beings, such as when regarded, as is more usually the case, as agents executing a Divine commission, are called ἄγγελοι, i.e. messengers. Tertullian interprets the passage thus. And this, which is the oldest interpretation of Genesis vi. 2 (LXX: οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ, Enoch vi. 2 f.; Job v. 1; Jude 6; 2 Peter ii. 4 based on Enoch x. 5, 6, 12, 13), is the only sense in which the expression can be legitimately understood here (Driver: Genesis vi. 2). Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xv, 23, agrees on

this interpretation. So also Tertullian again, *De Uirg. Ueland.*, VII: si enim propter angelos, scilicet quos legimus a deo et cælo excedisse ob concupiscientiam feminarum. Compare also *De Idololat.*, IX; *Adu. Marc.*, V, 8. Tertullian, in *De Uirg. Ueland.*, VII, quotes Genesis vi. 2, and has: conspicati autem filii dei filias hominum, though the context shows that he was interpreting the passage of angels, and his textual evidence is regarded as precarious. Yet it may be taken to show that υἱοι was not an unknown reading in his time. R. R. Ottley, *Handbook to the Septuagint*, page 97, says that ἄγγελοι is more probably the true LXX reading, and that υἱοι, if not substituted by Origen from Aquila and perpetuated in the Hexapla, must have been an early correction from the Hebrew.

scriptura. See note in XXV.

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sic denique: "this in short." We may take it to mean of the universal veiling of women. Denique is frequently used by the juris-consultants and in the writings of Tertullian, e.g. *Apol.*, I: si denique, quod proxime accidit.

ib., II: denique nemo illum gestit. Also Chs. VIII, IX, XVII, XXIII, XXIX, XL, XLII.

De Baptismo, X: denique legis doctores et Pharisæi.

De Idololat., XI: denique in alia causa.

De Coron. Milit., X: ipsæ denique fores.

defenderet sibi adiectionem: "would claim the addition for itself."

(1) Defendere = vendicare: "to claim for oneself or others," is common in this sense in Tertullian, e.g. *De Bapt.*, XIV: ne sibi omnia defendere uideretur.

De Spect., II: – – – quæ etiam ethnici ut indubitata et prohibent et defendunt. Also *ib.*, V; *Apol.*, I: si denotatur, gloriatur, si accusatur, non defendit.

(2) Defendere = ulcisci: "to avenge." *Apol.*, IV:

non de nomine probata defendunt. *De Monogam.*, IV: iniquitates - - semel defensæ qualescunque fuerunt.

Adu. Marc., II, 18: (ex Rom. xii. 19) mihi defensam et ego defendam (= ulciscar) dicit dominus.

Defensa (Deut. xxii. 35) in *Adu. Marc.*, II, 18 = ἐκδικησις (wrongly translated "defence" in Riddle-White and Lewis-Short).

pueritia mutauit: "Childhood has passed away." Mutare = se mutare. Compare also *De Anim.*, XXIX: in utraque mutassit demutari; *Adu. Marc.*, IV, 15: demutat in maledictionem.

plene obumbret: "let her completely cover over" (by a veil).

ante deum: "before God." This means in church.

in ecclesia. We gather from Tertullian that buildings set apart for Divine Worship must have existed in the third century. Compare also *De Idololat.*, VII: ab idolis in ecclesiam uenire, de aduersaria officina in domum dei uenire; *De Spect.*, XXV: de ecclesia dei; *De Coron. Milit.*, III, in ecclesia; *Ad Uxor.*, II, 8; in ecclesia dei pariter utique. Tertullian contrasts the Christian place of worship with pagan splendour: *Adu. Ualent.*, III: nostræ columbæ domus simplex in editis semper et apertis et ad lucem. Amat figura Spiritus Sancti Orientem, Christi figuram.

Later we find St. Cyprian reproaching a rich woman for coming into the Lord's house without a sacrifice. *De Opere et Eleemosy.*, XV: Quæ in dominicum sine sacrificio uenis? During the early days the Christians possessed no churches, but met for worship in the privacy of their chambers, or in dens and caves of the earth. Minucius Felix (*Octav.*, XXV, XXVII, written before A.D.180) mentions it as a charge to be brought against Christians that they had no churches or altars. It was a cruel charge to be brought against Christianity by its heathen opponents, because though it was yet true, yet so far as it was true, it was due to the persecutions of heathenism, and the necessity of avoiding publicity.

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antecessoris. " Predecessor " here seems to mean some individual Bishop. In the Jurists " antecessor " meant a teacher or professor of Law (Cod. Justin., I, 17, 2). The Episcopal Office, according to Tertullian, was of Apostolic institution. *De Præscript. Hæret.*, XXXII : . . . ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex apostolis uiris, qui tamen cum apostolis perseuerauit, habuerit auctorem et antecessorem. See also *Adu. Marc.*, I, 20 ; V, 3, and *De Fug. in Persecut.*, VI. In Cyprian, *Ep.*, I, 2, the decree of " episcopi antecessores nostri " is called " sacerdotum decretum." Antecessor occurs also in Cypr., *Ep.*, VIII, 1 ; XV, 3 ; LV, 21.

Tertullian, in speaking of the administrative office of the Holy Spirit, says, in *De Uirg. Ueland.*, VI : Hic solus antecessor, quia solus post Christum.

quæ sponsis dicantur. See *De Uirg. Ueland.*, XI.

constanter : " fearlessly," " without hesitation." This word occurs also in *De Baptismo*, X, XVII ; *De Spect.*, XXVI ; *De Pal.*, III ; *De Ieiun.*, XVII.

expauerint : " they have quivered." Compare also *Apol.*, XXXVII, XXXIX ; *Ad Martyr*, III ; *De Spect.*, XVII.

notitiæ eius nubendo : This peculiar expression means that in having come to know him who was to be her husband, she has already, as it were, entered into wedlock.

(XXIII) **sabbato :** " on the Saturday," i.e. the Jewish Sabbath. The word sabbatum is always used to designate the seventh day of the week, which appears in Tertullian's time to have been kept by a " certain very few " as a day of rejoicing. The word occurs elsewhere in Tertullian, e.g. *De Idololat.*, XIV ; *Apol.*, XVIII ; *Ieiun.*, XV. The verb sabbatizare (= to keep the Sabbath) occurs in *Adu. Iud.*, II (*ad fin,*).

cum maxime. " Just now," or " at the very moment " —emphatic ,it occurs elsewhere in Tertullian, e.g *Apol.*, V: cum maxime Romæ orientem Cæsarino gladio ferocisse ;

De Spect., I : qui cum maxime ad deum acceditis ; *De Idololat.*, II : de hoc cum maxime suscepta sit ; *De Coron. Milit.*, II : de qua cum maxime quæritur. Compare also *De Bapt.*, I ; *De Pœnit.*, VI.

die dominicæ resurrectionis : The Resurrection of our Lord on the first day of the week gave to that day a special character of sacred joy and thanksgiving, and it took the place of the Jewish Sabbath, in the Christian Church (Acts xx. 7, 1 Cor. xvii. 2, Rev. i. 10, where St. John styles it the " Lord's Day "). It was unlawful to fast or to kneel for prayer on the Lord's Day : *De Coron. Milit.*, III : die dominico ieiunium nefas ducimus, uel geniculis adorare. By Tertullian's time the custom had grown for the people to stand and turn their faces to the East ; this, he remarks, may have given rise to the report that the Christians worshipped the sun—*Apol.*, XVI : denique inde suspicio, quod innotuerit nos ad orientis regionem precari. Our author gives the first evidence of a cessation from worldly business further in this chapter (differentes etiam negotia), on the Lord's Day.

Constantine (A.D. 321) proclaimed the religious observance throughout the Empire of the first day of the week, on which no public business was to be transacted, nor any traffic or industry followed except agriculture. Tertullian is careful, as are the early Christian writers in general, to distinguish between the Lord's Day and the Mosaic Sabbath (see Dr. Hessey's *Bampton Lectures*, II. 1860). He uses both names, Sunday and the Lord's Day ; that of Sunday, when addressing the heathen, e.g. *Apol.*, XVI : æque si diem solis lætitia indulgemus ; *Ad Nat.*, I, 13 : uel die solis lætitiam curare ; that of the Lord's Day, when writing to Christians—*De Coron. Milit.*, III : die dominico ieiunium nefas ducimus ; *De Ieiun.*, XV : sabbatis et dominicis ; *De Idololat.*, XIV : non dominicum diem, non Pentecosten.

spatio Pentecostes. The term " Pentecost," as commonly employed by the early Christian writers, signified

the whole period of fifty days from Easter to Whitsunday ; thus Tertullian uses the expression in *De Bapt.*, XIX : latissimum spatium. This season was appointed by the Church for the administration of Baptism. The whole of the fifty days was regarded as one continuous festival (*De Coron. Milit.*, III). The last day, however, was clearly held in Tertullian's time to be a festival in an especial sense : *De Bapt.*, XIX : Pentecoste qui est proprie dies festus. It is clear that Tertullian here has in view, in the use of the word, the day on which the period closed. Compare also the passage quoted below from *De Coron. Milit.*, III. Origen in a similar way uses the word for the whole period, but also seems to distinguish between the general and the more restricted signification of the word " Pentecost " (*Contr. Cels.*, VIII, 22). Tertullian remarks that all the days of the heathen put together will not make up the Pentecost of the Christians. *De Idololat.*, XIV : Non dominicum diem, non Pentecosten, etiamsi nossent. nobiscum communicassent ; timerent enim, ne Christiani uiderentur . . . excerpe singulas sollemnitates nationum et in ordinem exsere, Pentecosten implere non poterunt. During this period fasting, and kneeling in prayer were prohibited, which custom applied also to the Lord's Day—*De Coron. Milit.*, III : Die dominico ieiunium nefas ducimus, uel geniculis adorare, eadem immunitate a die Paschæ in Pentecosten usque gaudemus. See also Justin Martyr, *Quæst. et Respons. ad Orthodox.* (*Quæst.* CXV) ; Clement of Alex., *Stromat*, VII ; Peter of Alex., *XV. ap. Bev.*, Tom. II, p. 23 ; S. Jerome, *Dialog. Contr. Lucifer* IV ; Cassian, *Instit.*, Lib. II, 18 ; St. Augustine, *Ep.*, LV, 15.

dispungitur : " is expended." Souter translates " is distinguished." Dispungere technically meant " to draw up accounts, setting one side against the other." The word has the following shades of meaning in Tertullian :

(1) " To discharge." *Apol.*, XXVII : malum malo dispungi ; *Adu. Iud.*, IX : Itaque specialiter dispungimus ordinem cœptum.

(2) " To settle," or " dispose of." *Apol.*, XLIV : qui sententiis elogia dispungitis.

(3) " To fully discharge." *Adu. Marc.*, IV, 22 : quasi iam et officio et honore dispunctis.

(4) " To repay." *De Exhort. Cast.*, II : quæ uult . . . æternitatis mercede dispungit.

(5) " To fulfil." *Adu. Marc.*, IV, 10 : habes . . . specialis medicenæ dispunctam prophetiam (=fulfilment of prophecy).

(6) " To experience." *De Resurr. Carn.*, LVIII : quod hodie Enoch et Helias, nondum resurrectione dispuncti quia nec morte functi.

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(xxiii) **omni in tempore et loco orare.** The reference is to Eph. vi. 18, 1 Thess. v. 17, Luke xviii. 1. Compare *De Ieiun.*, X : semper et ubique et omni tempore orandi ; *De Exhort. Cast.*, X : cottidie, omni momento oratio hominibus necessaria est.

(xxiv) **qui in naui coram omnibus eucharistiam fecit.** " Who on board ship in the presence of all celebrated the Eucharist " (Acts xxvii. 35). The language is strongly Eucharistic, but the meal did not include the Eucharist, but the freedom of Tertullian's mind in so understanding it is worthy of notice. It is also confirmed by Cyprian, *Ep.*, LXX, 2.

Rackham, *Acts of the Apostles*, page 490, says in this passage : " The similarity is due, not so much to the fact that the Holy Eucharist is a meal, as that every meal has a sacred character and food is sanctified by the word of God and prayer." Thus St. Paul offered thanks to God ; and this meal, like those after the resurrection at Emmaus, and on the shore of the Lake of Galilee, is a pattern of the Christian meal. The company consisted almost entirely of unbelievers, and the confusion of a storm at sea is hardly the moment for such a celebration. The important point is that the passage here referred to shows that " to break bread " could be used of an ordinary meal.

(XXV) **extrinsecus:** "outward" as contrasted with the inward "praying always," it means "extrinsic" to any direct injunction of our Lord and His Apostles.

quæ diei interspatia signant. Compare *De Ieiun.*, X: tres istas horas ut insignioris in rebus humanis, quæ diem distribuunt, quæ negotiæ distinguunt, quæ publice resonant, ita et sollemniores fuisse in orationibus diuinis.

tertia, sexta, nona: compare *Didache*, VIII: τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας οὕτω προσεύχεσθε, and *Apost. Constt.*, VIII, 34. Tertullian speaks of the third, sixth and ninth hours as the "Apostolic Hours"—*De Ieiun.*, X: non aliorum autem quam insigniorum exinde apostolicarum, tertiæ, sextæ, nonæ. He also refers to the incidents as mentioned below in this chapter (Acts ii. 15, x. 9, iii. 1).

in scripturis: "in the Scriptures." The word occurs frequently in Tertullian, e.g. *De Orat.*, VII: debitur autem in scripturis delicti figura est; *ib.*, XXII: cum dicit scriptura. See also *De Coron. Milit.*, I; *De Spect.*, XV; *De Præscript. Hæret.*, XXXVIII; *Apol.*, XX; *Adu. Prax.*, XV; *Adu. Hermog.*, XXV; *Ad Uxor.*, II, 5.

Danieli: Greek dative is found elsewhere in Tertullian, e.g. *De Præscript. Hæret.*, XLIV: actum est nobis; *Ad Nat.*, II, 4: multum inuisus Ægyptio illi; *Adu. Marc.*, I, 1: si quod retro gestum est nobis; *ib.*, II, 2: solis hæreticis cognitum non est.

ne minus ter die saltem adoremus. (Compare Daniel vi. 10.) *De Ieiun.*, X: quod etiam suadet Danielis quoque argumentum ter die orantis.

debitores trium Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti: "being debtors (in the sense of owing thanks) to the Three, Father, Son and Holy Spirit." The observation of the third, sixth, and ninth hours, in honour of the Blessed Trinity, is mentioned by Cyprian, *De Orat. Dom.*, XXXIV: nam et prima hora in tertiam ueniens consummatam numerum trinitatis ostendit, itemque ad sextam quarta procedens declarat alteram trinitatem, et quando a septima nomen completur, per ternas horas trinitatis perfecta numeratur.

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(xxvi) **Uidisti, inquit, Fratrem, Uidisti Dominum Tuum.** See note in chapter on Scriptural Quotations.

(xxvii) **hoc genus.** Adverbial accusative. Compare also *Apol*, xxvii : uel hoc genus pœnalis seruitutis : *De Idololat.*, xx : quando hominibus hoc genus nomina inducuntur : *De Anim.*, xxxii : tineas et hoc genus minutalia.

Alleluia. See the chapter on the African Liturgy at the close of this treatise.

orationem uelut opimam hostiam. Compare *Apol.*, xxx : qui ei offero opimam et maiorem hostiam quam ipse mandauit, orationem de carne pudica.

De Ieiun., x : pinguiorem orationem deo immolat ; *De Idololat.*, vi : nefas te quod facis colere ? sed illi non negant, quibus hanc saginatiorem et duratiorem et maiorem hostiam cædis salutem tuam. See also Clement of Alex., *Stromat.*, vii, 6.

(xxviii) **ueri sacerdotes.** Tertullian here has in mind the idea of the universal Christian priesthood. Compare 1 Peter ii. 9, Rev. i. 6, v. 10. *De Exhort. Cast.*, vii : nonne et Laici Sacerdotes sumus ? Tertullian then alludes to Rev. i. 6 in this passage.

Christians are called " sacerdotes pacis " : *De Spect.*, xvi. (Compare also *De Monogam.*, vii ; *Adu. Marc.*, iii, 7 ; *Adu. Iud.*, xiv.) The promotion of " peace " being one object of their office, he may call them " priests of peace " and Christian women " sacerdotes pudicitiæ " (*De Cult. Fem.*, ii, 12), without excluding the priestly character of all Christians, as distinct from the priestly office (*De Uirg. Ueland.*, ix).

Sacerdos is also used (1) of Christ : *Adu. Iud.*, xiv ; (2) of the Jews : *Adu. Marc.*, iv, 9, and (3) of the heathen : *Scorp.*, vii ; *Ad Uxor.*, i, 16.

Yet, Tertullian elsewhere not only bears witness to the existence of a distinction between the clergy and laity

but he bears testimony to the existence of a distinction of order among the clergy. One of his charges against the heretics is that they neglected this distinction: *De Præscript. Hæret.*, XLI: Ordinationes eorum temerariæ, leues, inconstantes. Itaque alius hodie Episcopus, cras alius: hodie Diaconus, qui cras Lector: hodie Presbyter, qui cras Laicus.

In *De Bapt.*, XVII: the orders of Bishops, Priests and Deacons are enumerated together, and the Bishop is expressly called "summus sacerdos": summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus dehinc presbyteri et diaconi. Compare *De Fug. in Persecut.*, III, XI. The Bishop is also styled "Pontifex Maximus": *De Pudicit.*, I. Tertullian speaks of the "Ordo Sacerdotalis": *De Exhort. Cast.*, VII, and the "Sacerdotalia Munera": *De Præscript. Hæret.*, XLI.

sacrificamus orationem hostiam dei propriam et acceptabilem. For the sacrifice of Prayer in the Old Testament see 1 Sam. xv. 22, Ps. l. 8–14; li. 16, 17; Prov. xxi. 3.

The prayers are the spiritual sacrifices of Christians.

Compare with this passage *Ad Scap.*, II: itaque et sacrificamus pro salute imperatoris, sed deo nostro et ipsius, sed quomodo præcepit deus, pura prece, non enim eget deus, conditor uniuersitatis, odoris aut sanguinis alicuius. Hæc enim dæmoniorum pabula sunt; *Min. Felix. Octav.*, XXXII: Hostias et uictimas Domino offeram, quas in usum mei protulit, ut reiiciam ei suum munus? ingratum est cum sit litabilis hostia, bonus animus, et pura mens, et sincera conscientia.

hanc de toto corde deuotam . . . innocentia integram. Compare again *Min. Felix. Octav.*, XXXII: Igitur qui innocentiam colit, Domino supplicat . . . opimam uictimam cædit. Lactantius, *Div. Instt.*, VI, 25: itaque deo utrumque incorporale offerendum est, quo utitur. Donum est integritas animi, sacrificium laus et hymnus.

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agapen coronatam: "an offering of love garlanded." The word agape occurs again in *De Baptismo*, IX: Christus

. . cum de agape docet, aquæ calicem pauperi oblatum inter opera dilectionis probat. (The reference is to Matt. x. 42.) Again, *Ad Martyr*, II : Quæ iusta sunt, caro non amittit per curam Ecclesiæ et agapen fratrum. Spelt in Latin letters, it occurs as the name of an æon : *Adu. Ualent.*, VIII ; *De Ieiun.*, XVII. In Greek it is read (doubtfully), *Apol.*, XXXIX (Coena nostra), uocatur quod dilectio penes Græcos, where some MSS. read " uocatur ἀγάπη id quod dilectio."

Tertullian gives a fine description of the Agape, or " feast of Charity," in *Apology*, XXXIX. The outline of the order seems to have been as follows :

(1) Preliminary Prayer before the guests sit down : Non prius discumbitur quam oratio ad Deum prægustetur.

(2) The Feast begins, during which they talk on pious subjects—Lectures and Exhortations by the President : cogimur ad litterarum diuinarum commemorationem, si quid præsentium temporum qualitas aut præmonere cogit aut recognoscere. certe fidem sanctis uocibus pascimus, spem erigimus, fiduciam figimus, disciplinam . . . ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes et censura diuina.

(3) Ablutions.

(4) Lights are used : post aquam manualem et lumina.

(5) Singing of hymns (Scriptural or original) : ut quisque de scripturis sanctis uel de proprio ingenio potest, prouocatur in medium Deo canere.

The 133rd Psalm, " Behold how good," was probably sung : *De Ieiun.*, XIII : Hoc tu psallere non facile nosti, nisi quo tempore cum compluribus cœnas.

(6) The Collection : arcæ genus est. Tertullian describes the sum of money " quasi deposita pietatis sunt," which was given " egenis alendis humandisque, et pueris ac puellis re ac destitutis iamque domesticis senibus, item naufragis, et si qui in metallis, et si qui in insulis, uel in custodiis.

(7) Closing Prayer and departure: Oratio conuiuium dirimit. Inde discediturr.

(xxix) **uetus quidem oratio et ab ignibus . . . liberabat.** Perhaps Tertullian is thinking of Daniel iii. 17 (quoted in *Scap.*, VIII).

nunc uero oratio iustitiæ omnem iram dei . . . pro persequentibus supplicat: compare *Apol.*, XXXI: scito ex illis præceptum esse nobis, ad redundantiam benignitatis, etiam pro inimicis deum orare, et persecutoribus nostris bona precari.

aquas cælestes extorquere nouit. Tertullian elsewhere refers to the testimony of Marcus Aurelius that the Germanic drought was removed by rain obtained through the prayers of the Christians. *Apol.*, V: si litteræ M. Aurelii grauissimi imperatoris requirantur, quibus illam Germanicam sitim Christianorum forte militum precationibus impetratio imbri discussam contestatur.

pusillanimos consolatur. Syncope for pusillos animos. Compare *De Fug. in Persecut.*, IX: pusillanimes consolari.

aduersus hostem qui nos undique obseruat: hostis is Satan. Compare Cyprian, *De Zelo et Liu.*, I: Porro autem dominus prudentes esse nos iussit et cauta sollicitudine uigilare præcepit, ne aduersarius uigilans semper ipsi et semper insidians ubi in pectus obrepsit de scintellis conflet incendia . . . excubandum est itaque fratres dilectissimi, adque omnibus uiribus elaborandum, ut inimico sæuienti et incida sua in omnes corporis partes quibus percuti et uulnerari possumus dirigenti sollicita et plena uigilantia, repugnemus. He then quotes 1 Peter v. 8.

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tubam angeli: "the angels trump." Compare 1 Thess. iv. 16, 1 Cor. xv. 52. The trumpet was used in military funerals. *De Coron. Milit.*, XI: Mortuus etiam tuba

inquietabitur æneatoris, qui excitari a tuba angeli expectat?

Cf. Virg., *Æn.*, XI, 192: in cœlo clamorque uirum, clangorque tubarum.

orat omnis creatura, orant pecudes . . . quod oratio uideatur. The expressions in this passage are based on the truth of a symbolic conception of the life of nature from the depths of Christian feeling, the effort of the spirit to conceive itself symbolically in nature.

crucem pro manibus expandunt. Compare Paulin., *Uit. Ambr.*, XLVII: expansis manibus in modum crucis orauit.

cui sit honor et uirtus in sæcula sæculorum. Other Liturgical Formulæ are found elsewhere in Tertullian's writings: *Ad Uxor.*, I, 1: Deus cui sit honor, gloria claritas, dignitas, potestas nunc et in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

De Uirg. Ueland., XVII: Pax et gratia a Domino nostro Iesu redundet.

Tertullian here seems to echo the clauses of the Litany, and its description shows a general resemblance to the subject-matter in the Litanies of the Mozarabic and Ambrosian Liturgies, as may be seen below :—

Nunc uero oratio . . . pro inimicis excubat, pro persequentibus supplicat . . . nihil nouit, nisi defunctorum animas de ipso mortis, itinere reuocare,

debiles[1] reformare, ægros remediare, dæmoniacos expiare, claustra carceris aperire, uincula innocentium soluere.

eadem pusillanimos consolatur – – –

peregrinantes[2] deducit – – –

alit pauperes, regit diuites, lapsos erigit,
cadentes suspendit.

MOZARABIC.

(Taken from Cabrol, *Dict. d'Archéol. Chrét. et de Liturgie*, I, 605.)

Ecclesiam sanctam Catholicam in orationibus in mente habeamus : omnes lapsos, captiuos, atque peregrinos.

AMBROSIAN.

(Taken from Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, p. 199.)

Pro his diuersis infirmitatibus detinentur, quidque spiritibus immundis, precamur.

Pro nauigantibus, iter agentibus, in carceribus, in uinculis – – precamur.

[1] Compare a form of Missal Litany, Gallican in its wording and character and written in a ninth-century hand, on fol. 13a, b of the Leofric Missal. This is not part of the Leofric Sacramentary, properly so called, but it occurs in one of the miscellaneous leaves which have been bound up together at the beginning of the volume which bears that name : Oremus etiam . . . pro infirmis, pro debilibus. (Warren : *Lit. and Rit. of the Celtic Church*, p. 253.)

[2] The Stowe Missal, fol. 17a, has : Pro peregrinantibus . . . oramus.

THE LITURGY OF THE NORTH AFRICAN CHURCH IN TERTULLIAN'S TIME

THE beginnings of the Church of Carthage are obscure, and the history of its development before the middle of the third century depends upon inference, rather than upon direct tradition. The secular history of the city tells us little that can help to determine the source from which its Christianity was derived, except in so far as its long connection with Rome may suggest that it was thence that the Gospel came to proconsular Africa.[1] It is a difficult matter to reconstruct the ancient African Liturgy because no liturgical books or codices now survive, therefore it is known to us only from the writings of the African Fathers, especially Tertullian, St. Cyprian and St. Augustine. We are here concerned only with Tertullian, who gives some useful information about the African Liturgy of his day. Cabrol, in *Dict. d'Archéol. Chrét. et de Liturgie*, I, col. 593, considers that no other writer of the same antiquity supplies so much. I will now proceed to give the principal passages from Tertullian's writings which supply materials for the reconstruction of the African Liturgy.

1. The Bishop or Presbyter the usual minister of the Holy Eucharist. Tertullian speaks of the Holy Eucharist as being received from the hands of the "Præsides" alone; that is, no doubt, the Bishops and presbyters (*De Coron. Milit.*, III): nec de aliorum manu quam præsidentium sumimus. He uses the verb "præsidere" in *Ad Uxor.*, I, 7, where there is an allusion to the Apostolic

[1] Munter: *Primordiæ Ecclesiæ Africanæ*, Ch. IV, thinks that probably the Church of Carthage was an offshoot of the Church of Rome, and came into existence without any missionary effort.

injunction (1 Tim. iii. 2; Titus i. 6) forbidding digamists, "præsidere." Compare also the passage relating to the Agape in *Apol.*, XXXIX: Præsident probati quique seniores. In *De Exhort. Cast.*, X, the title given to the celebrant at the altar is "minister." Tertullian in the same Montanist treatise considers that in case of necessity, where there are no clergy available, a layman may celebrate the Eucharist and baptize. *De Exhort. Cast.*, VII: adeo ubi ecclesiastici ordinis non est consessus, et offers et tinguis et sacerdos es tibi solus.

Here, Tertullian is arguing that laymen are no more free to contract second marriages than priests are. A priest who has remarried can neither baptize nor offer the Eucharist; and the like restriction should be enforced for a layman: Digamus tinguis? Digamus offers? Quanto magis laico digamo capitate est agere pro sacerdote, quum ipsi sacerdoti digamo facto auferatur agere sacerdotem?

2. **Time of celebration.** Tertullian's allusion to the Eucharist seems to show that in his day it was celebrated "before dawn."[1] Contrasting the Institution and the practice of his own day, he says (*De Coron. Milit.*, III): Eucharistiæ sacramentum et in tempore uictus et omnibus mandatum a Domino, etiam antelucanis cœtibus, nec de aliorum manu quam præsidentium sumimus.

He also refers to the custom of a midnight celebration of the Easter Eucharist, the attendance at which will constitute one of the difficulties which await a Christian wife allied to a heathen husband. *Ad Uxor.*, II, 4: Quis denique sollemnibus Paschæ abnoctantem securus sustinebit? Quis ad conuiuium Dominicum illud quod infamant sine causa suspicione dimittet?

3. **Frequency of celebration.** Justin Martyr (*Apol.*, I, 67) writing at Rome (*circa* A.D. 150) speaks of the Sacrament as celebrated every Sunday. Tertullian implies a more frequent celebration in the Church of North Africa,

[1] Compare Cyprian, *Ep.*, LXIII *ad Cæcilium*, 16: nos autem resurrectionem Domini mane celebramus.

speaking of those who scrupled to receive on the Fast Days (i.e. Wednesday and Friday in each week): *De Orat.*, XIX.

He interprets the petition "Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie" of the Eucharist, and to illustrate "panem quotidianum," quoting John vi. 35, goes on to add: "tunc quod est corpus eius in pane censetur: Hoc Est Corpus Meum. Itaque petendo panem quotidianum perpetuitatem postulamus in Christo et indiuiduitatem a corpore eius." In the light of these words it is quite possible there may have been a daily celebration at Carthage in Tertullian's time. Cyprian, at Carthage, in A.D. 252, plainly speaks of a daily celebration. *De Orat. Dom.*, XVIII: Eucharistiam quotidie ad cibum salutis accipimus. Again, *Ep.*, LVII, 3: ut sacerdotes qui sacrificia Dei quotidie celebramus hostias Deo et uictimas preparemus.

4. **Fasting Communion.** There is an allusion to fasting reception of the Sacrament where Tertullian is speaking of the case of a Christian woman married to a heathen husband. *Ad Uxor.*, II, 5: non sciet maritus quod secreto ante omnem cibum gustes: et si sciuerit panem, non illum credit esse qui dicetur? Dr. T. H. Bindley, in *Theology* (Vol. II. Jan., 1921; p. 17) speaking of the custom of communicants carrying some portion of the Eucharist from the Church, and keeping it for private reception at home, says: "Often, to obviate the risk of poison, it was taken before other food." However, Tertullian, who always takes up the more severe practices of his day, does not say that they always communicated fasting. Cyprian, in *Ep.* LXIII *ad Cæcilium*, disputing against the Aquarians who celebrated in the morning with water only, and in the evening in wine and water mixed together, does not contend with them about celebrating after supper, but only because they did not at both times mix wine with water, after Christ's example. I do not think that Cyprian would have passed over the practice of the Aquarians in celebrating in the evening, had there been no instances of the like practice in the

Church.[1] Evidently there was no strict rule to forbid communicating in the evening; however, in the year A.D. 397 a decree was made, in the Third Council of Carthage, enforcing fasting Communion except on one anniversary day (Maundy Thursday).[2]

5. **The Eucharist was celebrated for the benefit of the Departed.** It is at Carthage, the scene of Perpetua's martyrdom, and perhaps the home of her childhood,[3] that prayers and offerings for the faithful departed are first seen to take a recognised place in the services of the Church.

In *De Anim.*, LI, we read of the dead being, in the interval between death and burial, "laid to rest by the presbyter's prayer": cum in pace dormisset et morante adhuc sepultura interim oratione presbyteri componeretur. Tertullian writes in terms which imply that the Eucharist was offered as a matter of common custom at Christian burials and on anniversaries of a death[4]—*De Coron. Milit.*, III: oblationes pro defunctis, pro nataliciis, annua die facimus. We learn from Tertullian that a woman prays for the soul of her deceased husband: it is urged as an argument against second marriages that the prayers and annual Eucharists, which affection requires the widower to offer for the soul of a deceased wife, will create an impossible situation if he takes a second. *De Exhort. Cast.*, XI: duæ uxores eundem circumstant maritum, una spiritu, alia in carne; neque enim pristinam

[1] Socrates, *Lib.*, V, 22, mentions that in the Church of Egypt and Thebais on Saturdays they were accustomed to administer the Eucharist after eating in the evening.

[2] *Conc, Carth. Can.*, XXIV: ut sacramenta altaris non nisi a ieiuniis hominibus celebrentur excepto uno die anniversario, quo cœna Domini celebratur. St. Augustine (*Ep.* LIV., 6), in the year A.D. 400, tells us that fasting Communion was a custom observed by the universal Church.

[3] *Passio SS. Perpetuæ et Felicitatis*: Camb. Texts and Studies, 1, 2; p. 22 ff.

[4] H. B. Swete: "Eucharistic Belief in Second and Third Centuries," in *J. Th. St.*, III, p. 167, says: "It is in keeping with this deepened sense of the reality of the Eucharistic commemoration that the Church of North Africa was the first Christian community, as far as we know, which offered the Eucharist for the benefit of the departed; 'oblationes pro defunctis,' are already mentioned by Tertullian."

poteris odisse, cui etiam religiosiorem reseruas affectum ut iam receptæ apud Dominum, pro eius spiritu postulas, pro qua oblationes annuas reddis. Stabis ergo ad Dominum cum tot uxoribus quot in oratione commemoras, et offeres pro duabus et commendabis illas duas per sacerdotem de monogamia ordinatum ?

In like manner the woman prays for the soul of the deceased husband : the same objection is raised to the second marriage of widows—*De Monogam.*, x : pro anima eius orat et refrigerium interim postulet ei et in prima resurrectione consortium, et offert annuis diebus dormitionis eius.

Cyprian speaks of the offering of the Christian sacrifice for the departed as having been regulated, and therefore approved in principle, by his predecessors.

Ep., i, 2 : quod episcopi antecessores nostri religiose considerantes . . . consuerunt ne quis frater excedens ad tutelam uel curam clericum nominaret, ac si quis hoc fecisset, non offeretur pro eo nec sacrificum pro dormitione eius celebraretur.

6. **Communion in both hands —the communicants receive the elements into their own hands.** It seems to have been the general practice of the Primitive Church that the eucharistic elements were administered in both kinds. Tertullian mentions that it is a matter for anxious care that no drop of the consecrated wine or fragment of the bread should fall to the ground—*De Coron. Milit.*, iii : calicis aut panis etiam noster aliquid decuti in terram anxie patimur.[1]

The communicants were allowed to receive the consecrated elements into their own hands.[2] Tertullian laments the impiety of these idol-makers who, whether clerics or laymen, touched the Lord's Body with hands so

[1] This particular care and reverence as regards the Sacred Elements is mentioned by other writers, e.g. St. Augustine, *Hom. in Ioan*, xxvi ; St. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. Mystag.*, v, sect. 18 ; Origen, *Hom.*, xiii, *in Exod.*

[2] Cyprian tells us that the deacon presented the cup after consecration to those who were present (*De Lapsis*, xxv), and that the bread was received into the right hand (*Ep.*, lviii, 9).

contaminated—*De Idololat.*, VII: Tota die ad hanc partem zelus fidei perorabit ingemens Christianum ab idolis in Ecclesiam uenire, de aduersaria officina in domum Dei uenire . . . eas manus admouere corpori Domini, quæ dæmoniis corpora conficiunt, nec hoc sufficit. Parum sit, si ab aliis manibus accipiant quod contaminant, sed etiam ipsæ tradunt aliis quod contaminauerunt.

7. **The Chalice.** The earliest notice which we have of any mark by which a cup used for the Holy Communion was distinguished from those in ordinary use seems to be the passage in Tertullian where he tells us that the chalice had the figure of the Good Shepherd painted on it. *De Pudicit.*, X: Si forte patrocinabitur pastor; quem in calice depingis; *ib.*, VII: a parabolis licebit incipias, ubi est ouis perdita a domino requisita et humeris eius reuecta. Procedunt ipsæ picturæ calicum uestrorum. So far as it is possible to collect any information regarding the chalices in use among early Christians the evidence seems to favour the prevalence of glass, though cups of precious and baser metals of ivory, wood, and even clay were also in use.[1]

Tertullian distinguishes the two parts of the Liturgy—*De Cult. Fem.*, II, II: aut sacrificium offertur, aut dei sermo administratur, and in *De Præscript. Hæret.*, XLI, he refers to the dismissal of the catechumens.

Elsewhere Tertullian refers to:

(1) Readings from Scripture.
(2) Singing of the Psalms.
(3) The Sermon.
(4) Prayers.

De Anim., IX: iam uero prout scripturæ leguntur, aut

[1] See article on "Chalice" by H. Thurston, in *Cath. Encycl.*, Vol. III, p. 561 *seq.* The tendency to use, by preference, gold and silver developed early .Augustine refers to the silver and golden chalice in use. *Enarr. in Psalm* cxiii. (*Serm.*, II, 5, 6). He also alludes to two golden and six silver chalices dug up at Cirta in Numidia (*Contr. Crescon.*, III, 29).

Optatus of Mileui, beginning of fourth century, tells us that in the Diocletian persecution the Church of Carthage possessed many "ornamenta" of gold and silver (*De Schism. Donat.*, I, 17).

psalmi canuntur, aut allocutiones proferuntur, aut petitiones delegantur. The " orationes sacrificiorum " (*De Orat.*, XIX) are the Eucharistic forms in the Liturgy.

8. **The Lessons.** Tertullian alludes to the reading of the Law, the Prophets, the Gospels, and the Letters of the Apostles. *De Præscript. Hæret.*, XXXVI: Si autem Italiæ adiaces, habes Romam, unde nobis quoque auctoritas præsto est [1] . . . uidiamus quod didicerit, quid docuerit, quid cum Africanis quoque Ecclesiis contesserauit: legum et prophetas cum euangelicis et apostolicis litteris miscet. Tertullian is the first writer who mentions the " lectores " as a distinct order, whose office it was to read the Scriptures to the people. One of his charges against the heretics is that they neglected the distinction between the clergy and the laity, and orders among the clergy. *De Præscript. Hæret.*, XLI: itaque alius hodie Episcopus, cras alius: hodie Diaconus, qui cras Lector: hodie Presbyter, qui cras Laicus. This passage implies, without doubt, that in the Church of Tertullian's day readers were as much a settled " order " as any other. The " lectores " are often mentioned by Cyprian. In one place he mentions that he had ordained a reader for his singular merits and constancy in time of persecutions. *Ep.*, XXXV, III, 2: merebatur talis (Aurelius) clericæ ordinationis alterioris gradus. . . Sed interim placuit ut ab officio lectionis incipiat. And for the same reason he ordained Celerimus a lector. *Ep.*, XXXIX, I: Referimus ad uos Celerimum . . . clero nostro non humana suffragatione, sed diuina dignatione coniunctum. Compare also *Ep.*, XXIX: Fecisse me autem sciatis lectorem Saturum.

9. **Psalmody.** Tertullian alludes to the singing of the Psalms. *De Anim.*, IX: aut psalmi canuntur. The Psalms are mentioned again: *De Orat.*, XXVII, XXVIII, and *Ad Uxor.*, II, 8. Tertullian gives us no information as to the method of Psalmody in public worship, nor does he indicate as to whether the Psalms were sung between

[1] Gregory I, in *Ep.*, VIII, 33, *ad Dominicum*, asserts that the Apostolic succession in Africa was derived from the Roman Church.

the Lessons. The 133rd Psalm was probably sung at the Agape. *De Ieiun.*, XIII : " Uide quam bonum et quam iucundum, habitare fratres in unum. Hoc tu psallere non facile nosti, nisi quo tempore cum compluribus cœnas." [1]

The liturgical acclamation " Alleluia " was a feature of the Temple worship among the Jews, as we know from the " Hallelujah Psalms " (cxiii.–cxviii.), and it was taken over into Christian worship at an early period—for the West the earliest evidence is Tertullian, *De Orat.*, XXVII : Diligentiores in orando subiungere in orationibus alleluia solent et hoc genus psalmos quorum clausulis respondeant qui simul sunt. As regards the singing of the Alleluia, sometimes it signified those Psalms which were called " Alleluiatici psalmi," [2] because they had the word Alleluia prefixed before them in the title, such as the 145th and those that follow to the end. But the more common idea of the use of the Alleluia is for the singing of the word itself by a frequent repetition upon certain days, and in special parts of the service. We learn from St. Augustine that there was in his day some variation as regards the time of using the Alleluia. He plainly says that in the African Church it was sung only between Easter and Pentecost : but in other Churches, it was used at other times also. In the African Church it was sung on every Lord's Day at the altar, for the same reason that they prayed standing, as a memorial of Christ's Resurrection,[3] and it was the custom to omit the Alleluia during Lent.[4]

[1] See Bp. of Salisbury (J. Wordsworth), *Ministry of Grace* note on page 202.

[2] See St. Augustine, *Enarr. in Psalm* CV. I.

[3] St. Augustine, *Ep.*, LV, 17 (*Ad Januar*) : ut autem Alleluia per solos dies quinquaginta cantetur in Ecclesia, non usquequaque obseruatur : nam et alius diebus uarie cantatur alibi atque. *ib.*, 15 : et stantes oramus, quod signum est Resurrectionis unde etiam omnibus diebus dominicis id ad altare obseruatur Alleluia canitur. Isidore of Seville, *De Officiis Ecclesiasticis*, I, 13, says that the Alleluia was not sung always in the Churches of Africa, but only on the Lord's days and the fifty days after Easter. It was sung every day in Spain except upon fast-days. Sozomen, Lib. VII, 19, assures us that the Alleluia was sung only once a year in the Roman Church, and that was upon Easter-day : insomuch that it was the common form of an oath among the Romans, " as they hoped to live to sing Alleluia on that day."

[4] St. Augustine, *Enarr. in Psalms* CX., CXLVIII.

10. **The Sermon.** Tertullian calls the Sermon "allocutio." *De Anim.*, IX: aut allocutiones proferuntur. St. Cyprian once speaks of "adlocutio et persuasio" (*Ep.*, XX, 2).[1] Gregory the Great calls the Sermon simply "locutio." *Hom.*, V: In ea locutione, quæ ad uos nudius tertuius facta est. Compare also *Hom.*, IX.

11. **Dismissal of the Catechumens.** There is an allusion to the dismissal of the catechumens in the *De Præscriptione Hæreticorum*. Tertullian objects to the heretics because they made no distinction in their assemblies, as the Church did; but without any observation of decency or order, allowed their catechumens to mingle themselves with communicants, when the Catholics always confined them to a separate place in the Church, while heretics admitted them indiscriminately not only to hear sermons, but to be present at their prayers and the oblation of the Eucharist. *De Præscript. Hæret.*, XLI: Imprimis quis Catechumenus, quis fidelis, incertum est pariter adeunt, pariter audiunt, pariter orant.

12. **The Prayers of the Faithful.** We find what may be an allusion to the prayers with which the Liturgy began in the description which Tertullian gives of the intercessions offered in Christian worship, and in his account of the general character of prayers as practised by Christians in his day. In the *Apology* he speaks of the Christians as praying for the Emperor and Governors, for the Empire, the Army, the Senate and people, and for the peace of the world. *Apol.*, XXX: Nos enim pro salute imperatorum deum inuocamus æternum, Deum uerum, Deum uiuum, quem et ipsi imperatores propitium sibi præter ceteros malunt. *ib.*, XXXII: est et alia maior necessitas nobis orandi pro imperatoribus, etiam pro omni statu imperii rebusque Romanis, qui uim maximam uniuerso orbi imminentem, ipsamque clausalam seculi acerbitates horendas comminantem Romani imperii commeatu scimus retardari.

[1] E. W. Watson: "Style and Language of S. Cyprian," in *Studia Biblica*, IV, page 271, says, "though 'adlocutio' was a recognized term, Cyprian never uses it again."

Also *ib.*, XXXIX : Coimus in cœtum et congregationem, ut ad Deum quasi manu facta, precationibus ambiamus. Hæc uis Deo grata est. Oramus etiam pro imperatoribus, pro ministeriis eorum ac potestatibus, pro statu seculi pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis.

Tertullian speaks of Christians as offering intercessions for persecutors, for the departed, the sick, the possessed, and for prisoners. *De Orat.*, XXIX : Nunc uero oratio iustitiæ . . . pro persequentibus supplicat.[1] . . . Itaque nihil nouit, nisi defunctorum animas de ipso mortis itinere reuocare, debiles reformare, ægos remediare dæmoniacos expiare, claustra aperire, uincula innocentium soluere.

These intercessions probably belonged to the Litany or bidding prayers which were said by the Deacon—thus in *De Anim.*, IX : petitiones allegantur, i.e. populo a diacono allegantur (prayers are bidden). The description bears a general resemblance to the subject-matter of the Litany prayers of the Mozarabic and Ambrosian rites (for the parallels see note in Ch. XXIX, *De Oratione*).

13. **The Offertory.** It was a custom in the early Church for all communicants who were able, to bring an offering of bread and wine, out of which the elements of the Eucharist were taken. Tertullian apparently does not refer to these oblations of the people. However, Cyprian mentions them in *De Opere et Eleemosynis*, XV.

14. **The Great Thanksgiving.**

A. The Preface : C. A. Swainson (article " Liturgy," *Dict. Chr. Art.*, Vol. II, 1029) thinks that the words " Sursum suspicientes " in *Apol.*, XXX, probably refer to the Sursum Corda which we know was used at Carthage in the time of Cyprian[2] (A.D. 252).

There is an allusion to the other part of the Preface in *De Orat.*, III : Plane benedici Deum omni loco ac tempore

[1] Compare *Apol.*, XXXI : Scito ex illis, præceptum esse nobis, ad redundantiam benignitatis, etiam pro inimicis Deum orare, et persecutoribus nostris bona precari.

[2] Cyprian, *De Orat. Dom.*, XXXI.

condecet ob debitam semper memoriam beneficiorum eius ab omni homine.

B. The Triumphal Hymn is found in the *De Oratione*, XXX : cui illa angelorum circumstantia non cessat dicere : Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus.

Its place in the African Liturgy is also attested by the Acts of the African Martyrs (March 7th, A.D. 202). *Passio SS. Perpetuæ et Felicitatis*, XII (Saturus tells his vision) : et introiuimus et audiuimus uocem unitam dicentem : agios, agios, agios, sine cessatione. These words are common to all ancient Liturgies, except the Anaphora of the Ethiopic Church Ordinances.[1]

C. The Consecration. The Eucharistic Prayer is called " benedictio " : *Adu. Marc.*, III, 22 ; *De Idololat.*, XXII. In another place Tertullian calls this " consecrare " : *De Anim.*, XVII.

It would seem that the words of Institution had a place in the African Liturgy of Tertullian's day, and were used, moreover, in the consecration, even if not as a consecration form. Tertullian evidently regards our Lord's words as being the actual consecration form at the Last Supper : *De Orat.*, VI : Tum quod et corpus eius in pane censetur : " Hoc est corpus meum."[2]

Still more clearly he says, *Adu. Marc.*, IV, 40 : acceptum panem et distributum discipiulis corpus illum suum fecit. Hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est figura corporis mei.[3]

[1] F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (Oxford, 1896), Vol. I, pages 189 *seq.*

[2] The Early Fathers loved to interpret the petition " Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie " in the Eucharistic sense. Compare also St. Cyprian, *De Orat. Dom.*, XVIII, and St. Augustine, *Ep.*, LVI, 6, and *De Serm. Dom. in Mont.*, II, 7 ; although Tertullian, Cyprian and Augustine emphasized the Spiritual and Sacramental sense, yet they admit that it is used also in a material sense.

[3] The words " Hoc est corpus meum : id est figura corporis mei," recall at once the Liturgical forms in the *Sacramentary of Serapion*, (Bishop of Thmuis, *circa* A.D. 350) : " This bread is the likeness (ὁμοίωμα) of the Holy Body, because the Lord Jesus, in the night in which He was betrayed took bread and brake and gave to His disciples, saying, ' Take and eat ; this is My Body which is being broken for you for the remission of sins.' " Also the Canon preserved in Ps.-Ambrose, which Duchesne (*Christian Worship*, 1904, p. 177) dates

Figura autem non fuisset, nisi ueritatis esset corpus cæterum uacua res, quod est phantasma, figuram capere non posset.

D. The Lord's Prayer. Of the use of the Lord's Prayer in the Liturgy, in the time of Tertullian and Cyprian, there is no clear indication. In the time of Augustine the Eucharistic Prayer was followed by the Lord's Prayer and the Kiss of Peace. Aug., *Serm.*, CCXXVII: Deinde post sanctificationem Sacrificii Dei – – – dicimus Orationem Dominicam – – – post ipsam dicitur "Pax uobiscum," et osculantur se Christiani in osculo sancto. We may reasonably suppose that this was the case in Tertullian's time.

15. **The Salutation.** "Pax uobiscum." Tertullian seems to refer to the Pax when he objects to the heretics that they gave it to all without exception, implying that the Church used it, but with some distinction. *De Præscript. Hæret.*, XLI: Pacem cum omnibus miscent.

16. **The Kiss of Peace.** The Holy Eucharist is the Christian rite with which the Kiss of Peace was most essentially connected, and in which it was preserved the longest, it is found in all primitive Liturgies. In all Eastern rites, and in the Gallican Mass,[1] the Kiss comes at the beginning of the Liturgy of the faithful, after the dismissal of the catechumens but before the Preface is said.[2] On the other hand, in the African Church in Augustine's time the Kiss came just where Rome has it now, not before but after the Consecration Prayer, in connection with the Lord's Prayer, before the Communion. (See the passage from St. Augustine quoted in Section D.) Tertullian, probably upon this account, gave it the name of "signaculum orationis"[3] as being in his time used when all the prayers of consecration were ended.

circa A.D. 400, where we find the expression of Tertullian, *De Sacramentis*, IV, 5: Fac nobis, inquit sacerdos, hanc oblationem adscriptam ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilem quod figuram est corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Iesu Christi.

[1] Duchesne, *Origines*, page 202.

[2] See *Renaudot.*, Tom. II, pages 30, 134.

[3] *De Orat.*, XVIII.

17. **The Communion.** The words of delivery of the Sacred Elements at first seem to have been "Corpus Christi" and "Sanguis Christi," to each of which the communicants said "Amen."[1] Tertullian is evidently referring to this when he asks a Christian who was accustomed to attend the public shows—*De Spect.*, XXV: Quale est enim de Ecclesia Dei in diaboli ecclesia tendere, de cælo, quod aiunt, in cœnum? illas manus, quas ad Deum extuleris, postmodum laudando histrionem fatigare? ex ore, quo "Amen" in Sanctum protuleris, gladiatori testimonium reddere? εἰς αἰῶνας alii omnino dicere, nisi Deo et Christo?

18. **The Thanksgiving.** The eucharistic thanksgiving is alluded to by Tertullian: referring to the Gnostic distinction of the supreme God from the Creator, he speaks of "offering thanksgiving over strange bread to another God." *Adu. Marc.*, I, 23: super alienum panem alii deo gratiarum actionibus fungitur.

19. **The Blessing.** Tertullian mentions the blessing. *De Test. Anim.*, II: Omnis benedictio inter nos summum sit disciplina et conuersationis Sacramentum. Benedicat te Deus, tam facile pronuntias quam Christiano necesse est.

We do not find any references to an order of the Liturgy in Tertullian's writings such as is to be found later in Augustine: the following seem to have been the main features of Tertullian's Liturgy, the order of which is conjectural in its reconstruction:

I. Service of the Catechumens

A. Lessons from various parts of the Old and New Testaments—Law, Prophets, Gospels and Epistles.

B. Psalms.

C. Sermon.

[1] See *Apost. Constt.*, Lib. VIII, 13; St. Augustine, *Contr. Faust.*, XII, 10, who mentions the custom of the people answering "Amen" as the general practice of the whole world. Also *Passio SS. Perpetuæ et Felicitatis*, IV (Perpetua in her vision says): dedit mihi (de caseo quod mulgebat quasi buccellam) et ego accepi iunctis manibus, et manducaui: et uniuersi circumstantes dixerunt "Amen."

Dismissal of the Catechumens

II. Service of the Faithful

A. Prayers of the Faithful (Deacon's Litany or Bidding Prayers).

B. The Great Thanksgiving.

1. Preface.
2. Sanctus.
3. Consecration.
4. Lord's Prayer.
5. Salutation.
6. Kiss of Peace.

C. Communion.

D. Thanksgiving.

E. Blessing.

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